LEARNING IN A PARTICIPATORY SPATIAL PLANNING CONTEXT: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT & PLANNING KNOWLEDGE IN ENGLAND

LUCY CLARE NATARAJAN

RESEARCH DEGREE: PHD, BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING

UCL, Jan 2013

Declaration

I Lucy Clare Natarajan confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This piece of research was motivated by professional experiences of engaging communities in planning and a perceived conceptual gap in understandings of that field. Issues of power and communication have been well examined but the associated production of knowledge is underexplored. Theories of community engagement tend to focus on issues of 'voice' and the means to achieving deeper democracy. Similarly, participatory planning theories frame the debate in terms of communicative processes or competing rationalities. Within that body of work, knowledge is mainly seen as an adjunct of power and there is little focus on knowledge itself. In particular there has not as yet been a thorough study of how understandings of space are produced in a spatial planning context which includes lay participants. This thesis attempts to broach that gap and asks the questions 1) 'Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?' and 2) 'What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?' The research is based on two years of embedded observation within a joint planning unit and examines the review of the North Northamptonshire Core Strategy of 2008, which culminated in substantial community engagement work early in 2011. Findings from that case study were tested through a series of workshops involving a wider community of planners from across England. Research findings indicate that local knowledge has a particular nature and spatiality. They also demonstrate the dynamics of lay knowledge and planning knowledge, in the context of spatial strategy-making. It is hoped that these findings can help in understanding the production of planning knowledge and inform current efforts to bring communities closer to policy makers.

Contents

Chapter 1: Grounds for enquiry **7**

Chapter 2: Participatory Planning & Knowledge **13**

2.1 Introduction 13

2.2 Participation as liberation 15

2.3 Networked planning & knowledge production 21

2.4 New roles for planners & uses of knowledge 26

2.5 Conditions & strategies for knowledge 29

2.6 Communication of non-planning knowledge 32

2.7 Conclusions 35

Chapter 3: Spatial Planning, Public Participation & Planning Knowledge **38**

3.1 Introduction 38

3.2 'Spatial planning', a fresh perspective? 40

3.3 Fluidity of space in spatial planning 43

3.4 Integrative rationalities of spatial planning 46

Integrating policy domains 46

Functional integration 48

Approaches to scale 50

3.5 Knowledge & learning for spatial planning 54

3.6 Conclusions 59

Chapter 4: Methodology **62**

4.1 Introduction 62

4.2 Research questions 64

4.3 Conceptual framework 69

4.4 Study requirements 74

4.5 The case study 79

4.6 The validation work 86

4.7 Summary 90

Chapter 5: Introduction to the case study **92**

5.1 The North Northamptonshire core strategy review 92

5.2 Major issues – stage 1 96

5.3 Actors and scales – stage 1 99

5.4 Community engagement – stage 1 103

5.5 Planning evidence – stage 1 107

5.6 Shared planning subjects – stage 1 113
5.7 Policy domains – stage 1 117
5.8 Conclusion: set-up of the socio-spatial learning process 120
Chapter 6: Building knowledge through spatial strategy-making 123
6.1 The collaborative learning workshops 123
6.2 Major issues – stage 2 126
6.3 Actors and scales – stage 2 131
6.4 Community engagement – stage 2 139
6.5 Planning evidence – stage 2 142
The evidence culture of workshop 1 142
Expanding the common store of knowledge at workshop 2 144
Spatially referenced evidence 146
6.6 Shared planning subjects – stage 2 150
6.7 Policy domains – stage 2 154
6.8 Conclusion: the production of spatial planning knowledge 158
Chapter 7: Learning through community engagement 163
7.1 The 'Issues Consultation' Events 163
7.2 Community engagement - stage 3 165
7.3 Community actors – stage 3 168
Defining the North Northamptonshire Community 168
Collaborative work with the community 170
Perceptions of constituencies 173
Learning about Scalar Links 175
7.4 Shared planning subjects – stage 3 178
7.5 Policy domains in dialogues with the community – stage 3 183
7.6 Community evidence – stage 3 186
7.7 Community knowledge around major issues – stage 3 188
7.8 Conclusions 193
Chapter 8: Case Study Findings – a synthesis 197
8.1 Introduction 197
8.2 Knowledge in spatial strategy-making 199
8.3 Local knowledge & its dynamics 202
8.4 Summary 207

Chapter 9: Testing the case study findings **208**
9.1 The validation wave 208
9.2 The character & spatiality of local knowledge 210
Knowledge of local communities 210
Constructing local space 211
Approaching lived space topics 213
Understanding experiential causality 215
Envisioning patterns 216
9.3 Local knowledge dynamics 218
Premises 218
Abstraction 219
Integration of topic 220
9.4 Contextual factors 222
Practice effects 222
Communicating space 225
9.5 Validity & implications of the findings 229
Chapter 10: Conclusions on community engagement & planning knowledge **232**
10.1 Overview of findings 232
10.2 Addressing the research questions 236
PRQ 1 Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning? 236
PRQ 2 What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation? 238
SRQ 3 What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation? 240
SRQ 4 What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed? 242
SRQ 5 What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning? 245
SRQ 6 What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved? 246
10.3 Reflections on research methods 249
10.4 Implications for planning practice 251
10.5 Implications for planning theory 254
10.6 Future research agenda 258
Bibliography 260
Appendices A-D 272

Acknowledgements

I could not have written this thesis without those around me who have helped in myriad ways, at every stage of the process, especially my husband Kartik. I'm extremely grateful to my supervisor Yvonne Rydin for her insight and guidance. I'd like to thank my father Vincent Goodstadt for his unconditional support. They have empowered me, but any flaws in the work are all my own. I also owe a particular debt of gratitude as follows:

Thanks to all at the North Northamptonshire JPU from 2009-2012 for their openness and collegiate attitude: Andrew Longley, Karen Gadomski, Simon James, Andra Bowyer, Amy Burbage, Paul Woods, Fiona Waye, Abigail Morgan. Also thanks to all of the collaborators on the JPC and from Corby Kettering, Wellingborough and East Northamptonshire Borough Councils, and Northamptonshire County Council. Collaborators formerly from CABE, especially Bilijana Savic and Paul Lavalle, and all of the other JPU contractors. Those who took part in the roadshow and other parts of the public engagement in early 2011.

Thanks to my PhD colleagues from across UCL for inspiring me, especially Kai Syng Tan and Marina Chang, and all those at the Bartlett School of Planning, particularly Alexandra Gomes, Iqbal Hamiduddin, Daniel Fitzpatrick, Juliana Martins and Arata Yamamoto. Thanks too, to the BSP and graduate school staff for all their advice, especially my second supervisor HaeRan Shin, Stephen Marshall and Stephen Hart. Many thanks to NUS's Asia Research Institute for giving me an epistemic home at the Asia Urbanisms Cluster, particularly Tim Bunnell, Michelle Miller, Sachi Takaya, Alfred Montoya and Nathan Bullock.

Thanks to those who helped organise or attended the validation workshops, especially the TCPA, the University of Birmingham's Centre for Urban and Regional Studies and the University of Manchester's Centre for Urban and Regional Ecology. Especially I am grateful to Lee Shostak, Kate Henderson, Mike Beazley, Joe Ravetz and Elizabeth Rapoport. Thanks too to the RTPI and everyone else who helped promote the workshops.

I owe a special thanks to those who have given me food for thought and put me in touch with interesting people. I'm particularly indebted to Sarah Tipping, Will French, Bob Yaro and Robert Upton who encouraged me that the project was worth starting out on, back in the summer of 2009.

Finally I should thank everyone who edited or commented on various drafts and chapters of this thesis, and say that any remaining errors are the result of my final fiddling.

Chapter 1: Grounds for enquiry

The aim of this piece of work is to build a clear understanding of community engagement's effect on planning knowledge and to explore its value to spatial planning. It broaches the wider dilemma of the purpose of collaboration with local communities, by looking at the role of lay knowledge in policy making. Collaborative or participatory planning is intended to disperse the power of institutions of governance but the contribution of local communities to issues of spatial governance is under-researched. Therefore, while community engagement is already justified on grounds of democracy and human dignity, this work seeks to add to this by defining a spatial planning rationale for it.

Planning is a knowledge based profession concerned with space and there are many claims about the value to planning of community engagement, such as the improvement of planning outcomes and the early resolution of possible conflicts. The problem for the practice of planning is that lay participation is increasingly expected, but none of the claims about the value of engagement relates specifically to knowledge of space. In other words the value of community engagement to *spatial knowledge* is uncertain, yet increasing amounts of planning resources are being targeted there.

The thinking behind this research began with the observation that social research and public engagement work have related aims, issues and processes, yet are justified on entirely different bases. In the world of social research the ostensible purpose is to generate knowledge for service improvement, whereas in the context of planning community engagement exercises focus on local empowerment. Of course knowledge and power are linked, but they are not the same thing. They have different properties and functions and this research looks at the implications of this for community engagement and for spatial planning.

It is my contention that there is unexplored theoretical territory surrounding knowledge, specifically where lay knowledge and spatial governance converge. While conceptions of space and place are core elements of spatial planning it is not clear what the impact is of the direct involvement of non-planners in spatial planning on these conceptions. Theories of participation examine the relationships between the professional knowledge of planners and non-planners and the power relations between actors within the governance system and outside it, but they do not address spatial planning knowledge. Similarly theories of spatial planning are concerned with different fields of vision about place, how these interact and the 'construction' of space by society, but they do not focus on the knowledge within community engagement. I wish to explore the interface between lay and spatial planning knowledge types in order to consider the effect of community engagement on

spatial policy making. The study looks at the 'social learning' aspects of spatial policy-making within a participatory context to fill this theoretical gap in current understandings of community engagement in spatial planning.

From my own experiences as a social researcher and collaborative planning practitioner witnessing engagement exercises of many different forms, I believe that this gap has the potential to undermine community participation in planning, in a very practical way. The factors around public engagement in governance are complex, but the trends that I have observed are diminishing public interest in taking part and growing volumes of 'social research' and 'consultation' exercises. At the same time as new research is being commissioned, response rates to national surveys are shrinking, and consent to interview increasingly requires incentives such as monetary 'tokens of appreciation'. In spatial planning community engagement exercises the dynamic is similar. Public interest in engagement is sparked as people anticipate tangible policy effects in their city, town or village, but it is not uncommon to hear people question the point of the exercise if planners will not simply take their views on board. It appears that the experiences of public participation in policy making do not sufficiently reflect public expectations, which fosters apathy and results in abandonment of attempts at engagement.

More theoretically, the perceived purposes of community engagement might also undermine the outcomes of engagement in practice. The factors behind any choice to participate in engagement exercises are multiple and varied. They do not only concern empowerment per se, but are also about planners' knowledge and learning. If concerns about knowledge and learning determine whether lay people engage with policy makers, this could create a vicious circle. It might bias the 'sample' of those involved, for example if people who have previously been involved refuse to take part in engagement events. Participants might also tend to see engagement purely as a game where they need to anticipate the planners' 'next move'. Both the collaborations and the deliberations could become 'distorted', and further undermine public perceptions of knowledge and learning.

It is clear that the knowledge associated with community engagement in spatial planning is important to participants, therefore this research seeks to add to current theories about participatory planning. The meaning attributed to "knowledge" is therefore critical to the research question. Knowledge is not just awareness of facts or information but also includes an understanding of how things work and the causality within a particular context. So, knowledge includes an awareness of the value of facts to particular people, and must encompass the experience, skills and language surrounding them. A good example is carbon monoxide. It is a fact that carbon monoxide is CO but it is knowledge that CO is a pollutant. The knowledge is based on

contextual information about its effects and their causes, i.e. it is detrimental to people's health; it reduces oxygen delivery around the body and atmospheric levels of CO are associated with the use of carbon-based fuels.

As well as being contextual, knowledge is 'socially learned'. That is to say it is co-created by groups of people and does not exist independently as truth, fact or any other ontological given. In this thesis then, the relevant knowledge is built within 'local communities' and 'planning' communities, where 'planning' is the established practice of spatial ordering and 'local communities' are the people for whom the planners plan. The research will necessarily entail an appreciation of the particular policy context, and this is 'participatory spatial planning'. It will seek to understand the characteristics of spatial planning that are important to learning.

To understand the dynamics of community engagement it must be positioned within the current framework of planning. The dominant frameworks are those of participatory planning and spatial planning. Participatory planning, also known as communicative or collaborative planning amongst other things, supports strong levels of community engagement. Spatial planning is construed as the contemporary approach to plan-making, characterised by a holistic view of space as a dynamic entity. Spatial and participatory planning theories both surround principles of openness, accountability and stakeholder involvement, but participatory planning is more explicitly concerned with the involvement of 'other' actors, i.e. non-planners. Spatial planning collaborations are more focused on spatial patterns and involve not only local stakeholders, but also regional or neighbouring stakeholders. These points are further explained in chapter 2, which explores the participatory planning literature, and chapter 3, which considers current notions of spatial planning.

Community engagement in spatial planning is posited as a learning arena, which can bring planners and local communities together. Current theories assume differences between the two groups, in terms of their perspectives on knowledge but these differences are not fully explored. Different types of knowledge are rooted in different networks of people, who have different approaches to problem solving, different modes of learning and different roles within their own group. The knowledge within planning is expected to embrace knowledge within lay communities. However, these are necessarily different types of knowledge; local knowledge is characteristically informal where planning knowledge is formal. Planners explicitly approach knowledge about a place as the means to shaping a new future for it. Planners are also professionals who draw on their training and acquire habits of practice. By contrast, local residents' views about the future of their local area come from experiences of living in the area, and may not be communicated explicitly. In short, there are not only competing rationalities but also different knowledge cultures.

Since each group of people can form an entirely new knowledge sphere, this thesis will explore the many 'knowledges' within spatial planning. The simple model below (figure 1) depicts these different, interlocking knowledge forms. Where planning is explicit and systematised, community knowledge is implicit and built on experience, so community knowledge sits in opposition to planning knowledge.

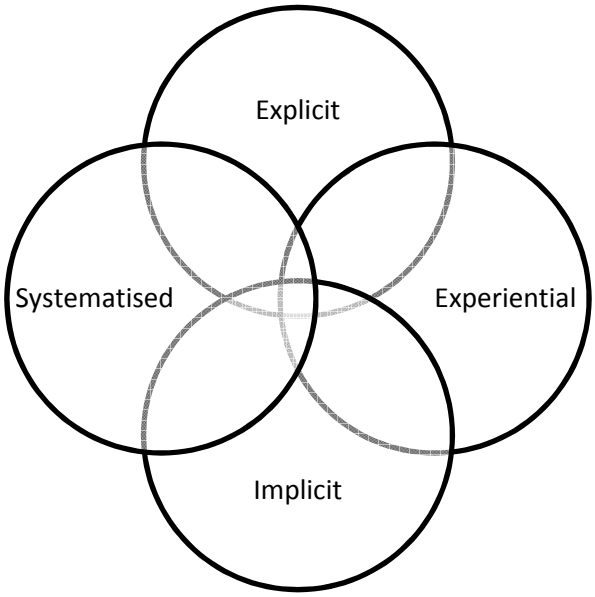


Figure 1: Forms of Knowledge (based on figure 8.1 in Healey 2007, p.245)

There is a great interest in connecting local communities to the policy domain of planning, but the knowledge dynamics are currently not well understood. Given the contrasting nature of local and planning knowledges it is important to understand the dynamics between them. Studies of community engagement focus on knowledge as an adjunct of power, rather than how it might build understandings of space and shape places' futures. Many questions remain unanswered around how such 'social learning' might work, and its effect on understanding places. In particular, the dynamic between local knowledge from community engagement and knowledge from other sources is underexplored. This research aims to investigate the dynamics within the context of 'participatory spatial planning' and focuses on two key research questions:

- **Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?**
- **What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?**

To recap, this thesis is an exploration of the knowledge within spatial planning and the learning role of community engagement in that policy domain. It has emerged in recognition of the expectations of collaboration between local communities and planners. The research draws on current theories of

participatory planning and spatial planning, and addresses the lack of detail around knowledge and learning with communities.

Participatory planning and community engagement have common origins and aims: they draw on notions of democratic governance and a person's right to be involved in decisions which will affect them; and they aim to reconstitute knowledge and challenge established networks. To date, most research has focused on 'community empowerment' and the ability to influence outcomes. Much as that body of work has reified the need for community involvement, it ultimately remains focused on politics rather than planning. This lends credence to the view that community engagement, while desirable is an expensive, symbolic bolt-on to spatial policy making. Community engagement may bring informal, tacit, experiential knowledge into the professional practices of collaborative spatial planning, but there may be other dynamics. Distinguishing between lay and planning knowledges is a fundamental part of this research.

The line of enquiry pursues community engagement as a learning arena for spatial planning in particular. It seeks to better understand the spatial dimension of lay and planning knowledges. To do this it isolates the learning aspect of community engagement as part of its ability to empower, and focuses on the knowledge constructed for spatial planning. The spatial aspects of learning examined here may redistribute power or address other socio-political concerns, such as equity, cohesion etc.. However, the primary goal of this thesis is to examine the specificities of social learning for planning, as distinct from other public policy domains. The research questions are positioned around what can be learned about space.

The starting point for this piece of work is the existing body of literature around participatory planning, spatial planning and associated issues of knowledge. Chapter 2 describes the participatory theories, research and practice. It presents the dominant discourses of power and the role of communication between planning actors, planning collaborators and planning stakeholders. It then explores the position of the community and the characteristics of knowledge within this arena. Chapter 3 scopes out the current theories and practice of spatial planning. It draws together the themes currently found in theorists' and practitioners' descriptions of spatial planning, and considers how the discourses and topics from chapter 2 sit within such a depiction.

Chapter 4 then sets out the conceptual framework and methodological approach to the research. The methods draw on participatory principles found in the literature review for a two part study. Firstly, knowledges within spatial planning are uncovered, through a case study of participatory spatial planning in England. This is the review of the adopted Core Spatial Strategy for North

Northamptonshire, which began in 2009 and culminated in substantial community engagement in early 2011. The researcher was embedded for the whole period as part of the project team. The case study and its findings are described in chapters 5 to 8. Secondly, the external validity of the case study findings are tested through further work with a diverse range of planners outside the context of the core strategy review. This methodology of this original mode of 'participatory testing' is described in chapter 4 and the validation findings are set out in chapter 9. Conclusions and wider implications of the research are discussed in chapter 10.

Chapter 2: Participatory Planning & Knowledge

2.1 Introduction

As chapter 1 has set out, the subject of this thesis is the contribution of community engagement to planning knowledge. It must therefore be based on an awareness of what is understood by 'knowledge' and 'community engagement' within planning theory. For this reason, the thesis begins here with a review of participatory planning theory, the body of recent literature associated with phenomena of practice that are variously described as communicative, deliberative and collaborative. Various permutations of communicative[1] planning theory have emerged, described as transactive (Friedmann 1973), consensus building (Innes & Booher 2004; Innes 1996), collaborative (Healey 1997) and deliberative (Forester 1999). These 'models' have commonalities with each other and common ground with spatial planning theory (as chapter 3 explains). More importantly to this chapter, they all anticipate social learning, whereby learning is a process within a community of practice. As this chapter explains, this leads to the first of the two overarching research questions: is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?

Briefly speaking, the 'communicative turn' of planning gives lay participation a prominent place in planning theory, but it is not an entirely comfortable one. The theory creates an evolving picture of worlds of power, learning, policy making and knowledge, and there are great expectations around lay participation in planning. Community engagement emerges from the movement to broaden governance outwards from the traditional networks of power, creating new roles for planners and communities, and pursuing reasoning through dialogue.

As the following sections explain in more detail, the roots of participatory planning are generally traced back to a recent wave of reflexive or interpretative sociology. Theories emerging in the 80's and 90's concerning communication between social actors focused on the role this communication played in structuring society. In particular Giddens' 'double hermeneutical' (Giddens 1990) presented a picture of reflexive communication with feedback between institutions and actors. Habermas' theory of communicative action (Habermas 1984) elucidated the importance of the cognitive backgrounds to 'Lifeworlds' and potential distortions such as the 'colonising' effects of coupling Lifeworlds with broader social systems. Participatory planning drew heavily on the associated critiques of post-modernity, and the relational phenomenology of 'social order' that developed.

[1] First termed "communicative model" by Young, in Justice and the Politics of Difference (Young 1990)

The new discourses of participatory planning explicitly rejected positivist rationalities of materialism, functionalism and instrumentalism, where planning was strictly cast as the tool of particular social actors and a means to achieve material or utopian goals. With these new understandings of the construction of social order and their concepts of social interactions, planning theorists argued for an inclusive and collaborative form of practice and new forms of governance with high levels of civic participation.

Those early visions of stakeholder participation established participatory planning as explicitly political (e.g. Bourdieu 1998). A distinction was drawn between linear functional passing of discrete units of information between governing and governed actors, and the engagement of actors in collaborative co-production of shared knowledge. By being part of the process non-planners would be 'empowered' partners working with planners jointly towards planning policy and sets of decisions, with power stemming from (joint) ownership of the information which planning used. In this way, the depth or meaningfulness of participation came to be framed mostly in relation to political empowerment.

The relationships between spatial governance, information and power increasingly became a nexus for theorising, but the production of knowledge for planning was not the main focus. The theoretical models focus on notions of community empowerment, networks of participation, social learning and planners' role in participation but lack specificity for spatial planning itself. Planning theorists have researched the knowledge potential of participatory planning in relation to consensus-building, governance, quality of communication, the role of language and discourse. This review of participation highlights the consequent areas of tension in the literature and the unanswered questions, which will be addressed by this thesis.

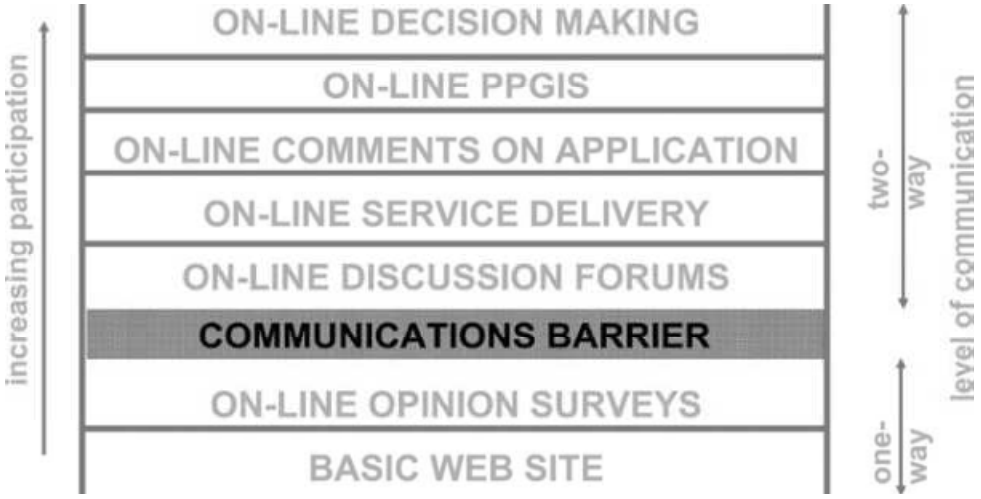
The rest of this chapter describes participatory planning theory and highlights unexplored areas that relate to lay communities. Section 2.2 gives a broad overview of the basic principles of public participation in planning, setting out the topics of the following sections under the central theme of 'participation as liberation'. Section 2.3 fleshes out the theories of networked governance and identity building. Section 2.4 considers the role of the planner. Sections 2.5 and 2.6 focus on processes for knowledge production. Conclusions are given in section 2.7.

2.2 Participation as liberation

This section considers the scope of participatory planning theory, reflecting on its roots and the central theme of liberation. It focuses on the implications for collaborative policy making with communities. It argues that the new vision of 'collaborative governance' is presented as a means to liberation from various forces of oppression. It picks out the theoretical underpinnings of the new modes of participatory policy making and the most common critiques. This sets the scene for fuller consideration of issues related to learning and knowledge in subsequent sections.

Early literature on participation focused on notions of 'depth'. They presented participation in decision-making as a means to redistributing power within the existing social order. The relative emancipatory effect of participation was seen to depend on the depth of participation, which is classically depicted using the metaphor of a ladder. Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein 1969) has been taken by many authors as the starting point for further theorising. It is based on eight progressive 'rungs' of participation (Citizen control, Delegated power, Partnership, Placation, Consultation, Informing, Therapy, Manipulation) along a sliding scale of depth categories (Non-participation, Tokenism, Citizen power) to demonstrate the degree to which power is transferred from process managers to those outside the process. Other ladders have since been produced with more detail regarding rights to decision-making powers (e.g. Wiedemann & Femers 1993[2]). The continuing search for '21st century strategies' (Innes & Booher 2004) now also considers the empowerment potential of new technologies such as online or e-participation as shown in box 1 (e.g. Kingston et al. 2000). The bases of these measures are whether people who are usually outside the decision-making processes are involved, and how their involvement can shape decisions. The scales are ordered according to the barriers to contributing to decisions, particularly those of 'lay' people.

[2] public right to know; informing the public; public right to object; public participation in defining interests, actors and determining agenda; public participation in assessing risks and recommending solutions; and public participation in final decision



Box 2.1: Kingston e-Ladder

In parallel with the development of these ladders, planning theory was experiencing a 'communicative turn' away from previous 'modernist' approaches. Such theories grew out of discontentment with 'modernist' planning (e.g. Jacobs 1961), which had produced notable negative social outcomes. For instance, the Pruitt-Igoe housing development is seen as an iconic failure. This development of 33 eleven story blocks was designed with functional and financial efficiency in mind, but ultimately demolished after years of low occupancy, high crime rates and a sense of alienation between neighbours (Bristol 1991). Modernist planning was also primarily based on structural considerations of power, for example community actors are classified by their position within an economic market.

The communicative turn was towards post-modern form of spatial management with a communicative rationale. In the theoretical ladders of participation, 'meaningfulness of participation' is couched in terms of reworking control of decision-making. In a similar vein, the rationale of participatory planning is to re-work conventions of social order. A collaborative mode of operation is promoted, which does not assume that pre-set social structures apply to all actors. It is premised on redistributing power to less powerful actors by involving them in governance, based on a communicative governance framework and a deliberative mode of policy making. This is linked to notions of 'deliberative democracy' (e.g. Dryzek 1990), which are discussed in the next section 2.3.

Just as the structures of power are re-examined and contextualised, so notions of 'community' are re-worked from previous notions of structure. It is not seen as single homogenous society or a series of large population cohorts related to a power structure such as 'the market'. Instead, the typical *Weltanschauung* of participatory planning theorists (e.g. Forester 1999; Healey et al. 1997; Innes

1996) conceives the world as a network of cultural and social communities. Participatory planning therefore stands in opposition to 'mass' or Fordist views of social order, and conceptualises society as plural and diverse.

Normative ways of understanding society are considered inappropriate, given the new plurality of society. Participatory planning instead seeks to understand diversity, for example within patterns of resource use (e.g. St. Martin & Hall-Arber 2008). In short, the modernist approach to knowledge of society does not fit with theories of participatory planning. That point is fundamental to this thesis, and is therefore considered separately and in more detail later on, in section 2.6. Suffice to say at this point that the importance of the post-modern approach to knowledge repeatedly surfaces in the arguments for participatory planning.

The new relational model of government, in participatory planning theories, has a distinctive, egalitarian ideology. It is termed *governance*, as distinct from government with all its connotations of fixed classes of governed and governing. Governance is expected to embrace the 'plural' nature of society and be more inclusive, as it enables 'stakeholders' in the policy decisions to collaborate. In practice it involves networks of actors contributing to the formal tasks of social ordering. However, rather than having a strict hierarchy or centralised government, the network includes various layers of more decentralised operations.

The collaborative governance processes include not just the state, but also political and territorial communities, in complex interactions between the state, the public realm and private spheres. Participatory approaches are said to be live, and reacting to and evolving within "active webs of relations" (Healey 1997), which echoes earlier US theories of advocacy and reflexivity of practice (e.g. Davidoff 1965; Schön 1973). The premise is that such arrangements can take better account of conflicts, dynamics and externalities of organisation than either top-down state intervention or macro-economic forces alone. Current planning practice in the UK includes this type of arrangement, which has been noted by UK theorists since the reforms of 2004 that put "heightened emphasis on stakeholder and community involvement" (Baker et al. 2010). Examples from 'spatial planning' operations are given in chapter 3.

The original theory supporting collaborative governance stemmed from an assessment of the 'appropriate mode' for the new social order. Rather than taking a radical position against any state power, those theorists made a strong case that government power should not be too rigid or conform to pre-determined structures. For planning the argument is that it offers the opportunity to mediate or regulate state power, and adapt or distribute power to fit the context where it operates.

Collaborative planning generally contains a very strong political nuance since its main proponents embrace a strong role for the state, even if it was within a framework of reduced meta-governance, or dispersed networks of power. As Healey puts it, “if we lose faith in our governance mechanisms, these conflicts will be resolved by the power of money and landownership” (Healey 1997, p.201). Participation is therefore pitted against a neo-liberal agenda of reduced state intervention overall and seen as an alternative to *laissez-faire* forms, in the sense that e.g. Hayek (Hayek 1944) used it. Therefore, governance with stakeholder participation is cast as an improved democratic form, and a means to rework the state for more ‘egalitarian’ outcomes.

Collaborative spatial governance is presented as a progressive alternative to control by purely capitalist forces, but this point is not without its challengers. Critiques typically surround how participatory processes can be corrupted and easily aligned either with regressive policies of capital accumulation or the obscured retention of centralised control, or both. They cite many examples, to demonstrate how private political actors can be co-opted for the state’s priorities, for instance the ‘Neighborhood Revitalization Programme’ in Minneapolis (Elwood 2002). In that case some local actors invested their resources in structural improvements in owner-occupied housing. This reflected Minnesota State’s goal of increasing homeownership, rather than public spaces, lagging retail corridors, or affordable and rented housing.

Other challenges to participatory planning surround the negative effects of reduced meta-governance. They argue on the grounds that the state’s role must be strong in order to empower marginalised groups in society, and advocate for their interests, making the case for stronger state advocacy, drawing on earlier Marxist theories (e.g. Harvey 1973; Castells 1972). Such reasoning has found some traction with the argument that participatory planning is acting as a “divine fool” (e.g. Sandercock1998, p.91, citing a 1976 translation of Castells 1972). The image is one of planners unwittingly working at the service of capital, legitimising entrenched interests, and without any awareness of the ‘real’ structures of power.

A related critique is the dilemma perceived in the coexistence of planning and capitalism, a situation characterised by Fogelsong as “both necessary and impossible” (Fogelsong 1986). Capitalism in its strictest definition relies on a market system of land ownership yet requires state intervention in the markets to control landed property. The associated critique of participatory planning is that if it reduces the power of the state, it will threaten the fragile balance of planning under capitalism. The

need to be aware of this potential 'dark side' of planning[3] continues to be raised, for example by Fainstein (e.g. Fainstein 2010).

Despite such concerns, it remains true that participatory planning theory presents participation as a means to liberating less powerful social actors. It is a strong argument, since the processes provide a role for community actors within a networked arrangement of governance offering a recognised means to challenging power positions. As such, community engagement is supposed to provide a new way to empower communities. Public deliberations are critical to the new system embracing community input, as a means to opposing other, more powerful social actors. This should in theory open up communication and provide a point for achieving a consensus, but the achievement of consensus implies two difficult tasks (see section 2.5 for a fuller discussion of the practicalities, 'ideal speech conditions' etc.). Firstly, it is premised on 'full inclusion'. The dialogical and inclusive public discourse must also include 'the whole community' in decision-making, and have regard to involving harder-to-reach social groups. Secondly, it assumes that a reasoned argument can be constructed that will be the strongest influence on policy (e.g. Friedmann 1987). Meaningful and deliberative planning processes require that all participants have access to opportunities to express their views and be heard in equal standing (of legitimacy, respect and esteem) and have their contributions incorporated in decisions (Senecah 2004). In theory then, civic dialogue will provide each actor their own means to mitigate power, irrespective of their position within the existing structures of power.

The type of civic dialogue envisaged reconstructs place identities and social identities, which in theory liberates communities from unwanted traditions and unconsciously or unwillingly adopted structures. This assumes that existing institutions always reify traditional hierarchies, since they are founded on particular knowledge, and that they will therefore tend to exclude new knowledges if they are incompatible with memories of the existing knowledge. This is characterised as a 'filtering process' (Douglas 1987). Power depends on the ability of the institution to remain opaque (Miller 2003) and if its workings and construction are apparent its ideologies can be broken down. Systems of government that are traditionally clouded in 'obscurity', where their true meanings are hidden, can be interpreted and brought to light through the stories within a culture (Lévi-Strauss 1967; Beauregard 2003). This has led theorists, and Giddens in particular, to seek to uncover the 'structuration' of society and its 'abstract systems' (e.g. Giddens 2001). This issue is discussed in more depth in the next section, but is highlighted here to demonstrate the scope and depth of the theme of 'liberation through participation', and expectations associated with it.

[3] As it has come to be known after Flyvbjerg's first use of the term

Within this vision of participation as liberation, space takes a backseat. The focus is on the close relationship within of networks of power and public deliberation is about control over institutions. This seems to make 'space' per se a secondary consideration. There is always a concern for space in the participatory planning literature, and it does relate to the involvement of communities in planning, but the spatiality of the new social learning processes is neither explicit nor fully explored. It can be inferred that participatory planning theory implicates national orders and established spaces, since it challenges traditional social structures and their 'centres of power'. Likewise, cases of engagement involve particular communities are of interest because they live within a particular geographical area, i.e. 'area-based communities' have a 'stake' in the outcomes of spatial policies for that area. However, these spatial elements derive from the governance processes, so community groups primarily remain differentiated by their relationship to dominant market and government structures.

In planning theory, concepts of control are strongly related to space, but the 'empowerment' angle of participatory planning lacks a specifically spatial rationality. It is argued that stakeholders should be involved for improved power redistribution, but leaves open the questions: 'What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?'; and 'What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?' These questions will be addressed in this thesis, and section 4.2 in the chapter on methods positions them as secondary research questions (SRQ 5 & SRQ 3, respectively). The next section 2.3 of this chapter considers in more depth the issues of democratic networks and identity building, which have been sketched out here, and their implications for building knowledge.

2.3 Networked planning & knowledge production

Having described the theories about reworking the structures of power in section 2.2, this section explores in more detail the purpose of new networks and implications for planning knowledge and learning. It explains how reworked networks of governance are premised on a particular approach to decision making. It begins by describing how concepts of identity and values underpinning networked governance draw on a new understanding of the nature of knowledge. It concludes that the theory positions knowledge as a means to disrupting and restabilising networks, rather than relating it directly to planning or spatial issues.

Governance, as presented in participatory planning theory, is a social construct. It is continually evolving and reconstituted within networks where consensus is built. “Government is not a black box, but an array of agents loosely connected among themselves, with interest based entities and among individual citizens” (Innes & Booher 2004). Consensus is built “strategically” within these arrays of agents or networks. Rather than taking singular decisions, the networks would build a series of agreements (e.g. Habermas). A large body of work has grown around this idea, developing the concept of the network society (e.g. Castells 2000), in economy, society and culture. It now includes study of global networks (Le Galès 2002; Healey 2010).

This new vision of governance relies on knowledge building networks, and entails a new system of information. It is premised on building more sensitivity to individual and institutional identities. Since, as described in section 2.2, participatory planning is cast as a deliberative form of spatial governance (e.g. Forester 1999), there is an onus on participatory planning to produce civic discourse. The need for deep and genuine discourse has led many authors to focus on how networks can expand deliberation and encourage diverse voices, for instance about how to direct resources (e.g. Sager 1994; Tang et al. 2008). The intended discourse is a disruptive one created by a multiplicity of actors with a variety of values.

Participatory planning takes a negative assessment of institutional stasis and a lack of progress towards the ‘modernist goal’ a different solution, based on shared learning within networks. Innes and Booher for example argue that there is a need for, “building social and intellectual capital, institutional capacity and adaptiveness in the face of change” (Innes & Booher 2000). The view is that domination of private sector interests, default market regulation, and traditional rigid structures have resulted in policy failure and a new communicative approach will be more contextual and flexible, and hence more realistic and successful. As Healey puts it “the degree of ‘autonomy’ of formal government is not fixed, but is negotiated over time through the active webs of relations which link those in government agencies to firms and to households, and through the

discourses which are used to evaluate and legitimate what governments do" (Healey 1997, p.208). In theory, new voices would continue to challenge and change the status quo.

As well as disrupting existing power structures and the very system of power distribution, participatory governance is also perceived to address the erosion of personal and institutional identities. It draws on the work of Schön, who stated that, "the anchors of personal identity are everywhere being eroded" (Schön 1973 p.22). He examined 'destabilising' social trends, focusing on thirty year trends in the USA with increases in sectional dissatisfaction and awareness of inequity as well as a new generational wave of political thinking which was against economic policy drivers and the centralised state. His "inventory of threatened institutions" included the government, churches and universities which were all struggling to redefine their own roles; "the degree of threat presented by a change depends on its connection to self-identity" (ibid p14). Prior to that, stability had been predicated on 'norms' where disbelief was suspended and a kind of self-imposed 'blindness' was accepted. But the new self-awareness resulted in challenges to the status, instability, uncertainty and fears about the erosion of values. Paradoxically then, the disruptive information system, based on new actors and values, could lend a type of stability or at least means to continuity for institutions.

Contemporary theories, around social agency and communities of practice (e.g. Giddens 2001; Wenger 1998; Wenger 2000), lent support to the view that institutions needed to embrace personal identities and values. In collaborative planning literature too, institutions were seen as insufficiently adapted to dynamic realities of "the relational webs or networks in which we live our lives" (Healey 1996). The result was that dialogue was required, so that planners could learn about the social networks, Lifeworlds, diversity, and multiple forces affecting of everyday life. In this social learning arena values could be rebuilt and reconstituted. The goal was to attain a new kind of learning involving knowledge with rationality of purpose (*Zweckrationalität* in the German, Flyvbjerg 2001) rather than technical rationality. This type of knowledge is value-related, more *phronesis* than *techne* in the Aristotelian sense, and therefore contingent on being embedded in context (e.g. Garfinkel 1984 citing Popper 1963). In contrast to the paradigm of the natural sciences where knowledge is normative, predictive and proved by experiment, the test of this type of knowledge is accuracy and validity (in German the distinction is *Geisteswissenschaft* rather than *Naturwissenschaft* e.g. Flyvbjerg 2001).

The knowledge of interest is that which is created within networks. The communicative mode of planning rests on the notion of social learning, whereby knowledge is produced within communities of practice (Wenger 2000). The knowledge in question is therefore collaborative and live. This is a

post-modern view of knowledge, where knowledge is seen as 'emergent' rather than *a priori*. Although this follows the UK tradition of liberalism, i.e. since Locke's essay (Locke 1690), it is concerned with knowledge that is co-produced by groups, rather than by single individuals. People are said to produce knowledge in communities or 'groups' of learning and to produce planning policy collaboratively, so that social learning groups would be opened up to previously excluded actors. Indeed both social learning and collaborative planning theories argue for a continual re-examination of traditional histories behind the networks of power, and their supporting stories.

As collaborative knowledge is live it is necessarily also contextual. This is an important distinction from modernist approaches, which start from specific points of certainty about society, such as class group oppression. Post-modern approaches to knowledge ask "how is it known?" They reject the abstract explanations belonging older 'western' logics, where subject and object are split from each other. Theorists such as Flyvbjerg, Sandercock, and Giddens posit a more situated knowledge. Such knowledge is created by groups of people and linked to this 'site of production', i.e. the group creating it.

The new view of knowledge, as contextual or 'situated' has significant implications for planning. It suggests that policy makers should have a good level of self-awareness e.g. about how the practical aspects of their work will affect their thinking (Forester 1999). That issue will be discussed in section 2.4, and is relevant to this discussion of knowledge in that it suggests that contextualisation is the means to learning for planning, i.e. context of operation is integral to a 'proper understanding' of any social phenomenon. It also suggests that planning is socially embedded and intrinsically linked to lay communities of learning. As Healey puts it "conflicts are therefore not simply about government, frontiers, shopping centres or modernist architectures; they are about people" (Healey 1997, p21). Related issues about the communication of different knowledges will be discussed in section 2.6.

Networks for meaningful dialogue are therefore proposed to establish new control over potential 'instability' and to encourage reworking of new values and identities. With the new more fluid conceptualisation of social order and the revealing of 'hidden power structures', it was not enough to propose re-stabilising by e.g. reforming and implementing new policies. To do so would perpetuate the practices of the centre-periphery system, now seen as invalid. Instead government needed to be a perpetual 'learning agent' with continually evolving self-awareness. Communicative theories follow this logic, casting planning as an arena for social learning. Sandercock nicely summarises the new role for planning thus: "…to resolve certain apparent antimonies: The demand for security in situations of uncertainty and anguish which threaten the security of the self; The demand for conviction, and with it the requirement that beliefs and values be recognized as ways of

looking at the world; Engagement with others with ultimate reliance on the self recognized as the internalization of others" (Sandercock 1998, P237).

This is the arena for a new "discursive democracy" (Dryzek 1990) based on the differences between agents (Young 1990; Young 1995; Young 2000). Theoretically no actor or group of actors hold central position, therefore every actor is peripheral to a greater or lesser degree (Wenger 1991). Newcomers may be less central but can move towards the centre of a subject domain. These theories of 'situated learning' theory have three key interlinked considerations: communities of practice; the boundaries between actors involved in shared practice areas; and the way in which identities are shaped by participation (Wenger 1998; Wenger 2000).

Situated learning in planning is mostly explored with regards to the boundaries between actors, but knowledge itself is not so well explored. The literature on participatory planning is pervaded with considerations of density or thickness of networks, which refers to the layers of meaning constructed about 'things', and the shared understanding of those meanings (as discussed for example by Foucault 1972 and Latour 1993). Authors argue that the main purpose of social learning is to rebuild communal trust and spontaneous coordination in social networks (e.g. Giddens 1990; Giddens 1994; Ostrom 1998). Laurian says, "the legitimacy of modern and abstract institutions depends on social trust because citizens need to trust institutions without understanding their inner functioning" (Laurian 2009, p.375). Authors agree that the shape of the sphere of planning and legitimacy of the identity of planning are being reworked, but there is no examination of lay participation in planning specifically. Knowledge is taken to be contextual, emergent etc. as defined by theories of governance and social learning, but the specificities of the production of knowledge for planning and the effects on the knowledge in planning are not considered.

To recap, the view is that this changing political world needs to make certain recognitions (Giddens 2001): the existence of networks of interdependencies, the need to work through networks, and the diversity of civil society. In this framework of participatory governance there are many dimensions to public policy decision-making and civil society is itself "subject to multiple meanings" (Lovan 2004). Negotiation and facilitation replace rigid authority since government and non-government are co-dependent with no single entity in sole charge. Instead of having a central authority, the world of policy is made up of "diverse, overlapping and integrated networks" (Rhodes 1997). Networks of actors sit at the heart of policy making. Those who participate can bring their issues to bear in shaping the new social and institutional identities as well as the policies themselves. All actors including planners also bring their own values to the table and all values are subject to scrutiny. In

this ‘social learning’ context, rationalities of the governing parties are reconstituted in light of lay participation.

These points suggest that the role of collaborative knowledge production is to serve the needs of governance, i.e. rather than for any substantive purposes of planning, which could lead to criticism of ‘tokenism’. The insights discussed here are about the governance purpose of participatory processes, but they are not specific about *spatial* governance, *spatial* rationalities or *planning* knowledge. It is argued that conceptual or ‘double loop’ learning can occur, with internalisation of each other’s values and the consequent adjustment of rationalities, but the focus of any such change is the network of governance rather than spatial rationalities. This means that questions remain around public participation in spatial planning: how spatial planning rationalities might be reframed; and how this relates to planning content and associated spatial policy issues. This thesis will ask, for the context of lay participation in spatial planning: “What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?”; and “What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved and what is their role in the learning dynamic?”. The methods section 2.2 presents these as secondary research questions (SRQ 4 and SRQ 6 respectively). As a first step in answering these questions, section 2.4 examines what can be discovered from literature on the role of the planner, inherently taking a social learning point of view.

2.4 New roles for planners & uses of knowledge

The discussions in sections 2.2 and 2.3 have demonstrated how planning theories have evolved to focus on networks of actors. In relation to the matter of participation, the role of planners, their relationship with non-planners, and their approach to knowledge all emerge as critical in the theories surrounding participation in planning. With its aspirations for participatory governance and direct involvement of citizens, the communicative model of planning encourages the production of new identities and new alliances to replace old trust networks from bonds such as kinship ties. Some theorists raise concerns regarding the new roles for the different actors within the new model, particularly that of the "reflexive" planning practitioner. As this section discusses, the new mode of practice is characterised as independent and introspective, with reflection-in-action and consideration of their own values in particular (Forrester 1999). It focuses on what changes the collaborative style of planning can make to the role of the planner and dilemmas associated with these new roles.

Sandercock gives a very clear depiction of the development of the planner's role from "the knower" to an independent and self-determining actor whose goal is the empowerment of communities (Sandercock 1998). In a simplified linear history, planners start out almost as administrators taking choices based on objectives of 'bounded rationality' to borrow Herbert Simon's concept (Simon 1973). Then in the 1970's, there is an 'evolutionary' stage where the planner is characterised as working with 'scientific gloves on' taking incremental decisions to produce 'rational' societal guidance, often referred to as gradualism (cf. Lindblom 1979). This characterisation was challenged (e.g. in Schön 1983) with a new conceptualisation of planning as a 'reflexive practice' within of organisational learning systems. Subsequently various models of practice were developed with different types of participatory modes[4] various communicative roles for planners, especially those focused on addressing inequalities. In the advocacy model the planner is a 'political negotiator' and explicitly seeks out redistribution and in the model of political transactions s/he is a 'mutual learner' who seeks to remove communicative barriers. In both s/he brokers power while still accepting existing structural limitations.

Some of the critique focuses on the 'advocacy role' where planners may side with particular political or social groups. Advocacy planning (Davidoff 1965) has its roots in the context of US civil rights and the treatment of specific social groups. Subsequent failure to address inequities through advocacy planning especially in the USA, led to the conclusion that advocacy should aim for empowerment (Leavitt 1994; Heskin 1991) of particular groups or of all groups (e.g. Krumholz 1990). An additional

[4] E.g. citizen juries, deliberative opinion polls, community advisory boards and e-democracy

issue for the communicative model is that this permutation of the advocacy model is in essence still an “expert-centered model”. The role of the planner in such participatory exercises is consistently seen as non-neutral, as it is perceived to support either specific groups, institutional power or the profession itself.

More troubling still is the idea that the advocacy planning role is intentionally or by nature exploitative. The ‘walking-through-walls’ model of knowledge-in-action (Sager 1994, Sager 2009) shows the exploitative potential of communicative theory. In this military analogy planning is likened to urban warfare strategy, where actions are based on contrary use of everyday items e.g. walls that enemies normally expect to be barriers. It is said that planners can likewise anticipate and subvert the actions and reactions by understanding the values and perceptions of others. The line of argument is that the knowledge built within learning networks gives planning authorities the upper hand over those who would oppose their policies whether intentionally or not. This is a corrupt version of the social learning model proposed, because knowledge is not shared amongst all parties.

Other critiques surround the idea that participation is itself a convention, bordering on institutional, and continuing to disadvantage excluded groups. As Piven puts it, “the advocates are coaxing ghetto leaders off the streets, where they might make trouble. The absorbing and elaborate planning procedures which follow are ineffective in compelling concessions, but may be very effective indeed in dampening any impulse toward disruptive action which has always been the main political recourse of the very poor.” (Piven 1970, p.35) This is a particularly strong criticism of the communicative model since, by reducing the role for autonomous means of communication such as direct action, it might weaken the overall potential for learning about values embedded in local contexts rather than increasing learning as intended.

Even the apparently wholesome Habermasian ideal of “the power of the better argument” (Habermas 1984) is met with scepticism since discursive reasoning over truths and values can be said to advantage those better able to speak with rhetorical power or more accustomed to doing so (Hillier 2000a; Hillier 2000b; McGuirk & O'Neill 2002). The criticism is that this argumentative approach supports scientific rationality and the existing dominant power structures (Flyvbjerg 2001). Once again the planner is in a central position in the social learning model, with those less experienced in spatial planning unable to progress into a more influential, less peripheral point in relation to planning knowledge.

To bring this section back to the original premises of participatory planning, these reflections on the role of planners suggest that Giddens’ ‘double hermeneutical’ are easily disrupted. The planner is

expected to create or at least work towards a consensus without being too influential a 'central point' in proceedings, and possibly adopt positions that reduce their own power or confound other aspects of their role. The planner's communicative role may be reduced to that of a mediator (Wenger 2000, Susskind et al. 1999), while professional responsibility for plan making and problem definition are retained (Fischler 2000, Gunder & Hillier 2007). As a result, there are attempts to better define communicative processes (Dryzek 1990), or to refine them for planning. In anticipation of potential misuse or distortion of the knowledge, there is for example more critical questioning of plan-making and practical suggestions around, e.g. by decreasing the transaction costs to non-planning actors (Forester 1993).

It is clear from this part of the literature review, that the role of the planner will be important in understanding lay participation as a reframing process. The governance set-up, the planning system and the engagement processes will have a bearing on social learning but the position of planners (e.g. how central or peripheral they are to knowledge building) will be crucial. Specifically, the literature suggests that planners' own views on their role and position will strongly affect whether and how their frames can be challenged, as will their views on spatial planning purposes, public engagement purposes, what constitutes relevant knowledge and what the purpose of the knowledge is. For example someone who sees themself as a neutral mediator may not consider their own views specifically, whereas an advocate may make efforts to espouse the values of another party or align their work towards the needs of a social group. Another planner, seeing spatial planning as serving the needs of a wider-than-local constituency, might seek out knowledge from a community across a wider scale.

Part of the current investigation will surround the planners' roles, since the use of knowledge is intrinsically linked to it. Understanding what influences the 'positions' of planners within the learning arena will be a key part of the study. Within a participatory context, this research will need to understand: the perceived purposes of learning from community engagement, i.e. for planners and for lay participants; and the role of planners in relation to lay participation. Although answers are sought through fieldwork and analysis, this section has suggested the following points of focus regarding the role of the planner: the degree of knowledge sharing; the needs of particular social groups; potential for argumentation over proposals; and the relative centrality of planners and non-planners. More practical issues related to knowledge production are sought in the next section.

2.5 Conditions & strategies for knowledge

The previous sections have shown how participatory planning is conceived as a form of social learning with the potential for knowledge development but facing difficulties that relate to the structure, system and actors involved. In addition to these issues, there are other challenges for participatory spatial planning which relate more directly to the nature of networks and communication within them, and these are described in this section.

Most proponents of participatory planning describe 'good' conditions for praxis while accepting that, as with other sociological approaches, they are unlikely to be met fully. The position taken is that these ideals can help to direct efforts. The reason for this somewhat gloomy starting point is that, as per Habermas' 'ideal speech' rules, these conditions are consciously unreal or outside the normal realms of the Lifeworld (described in section 2.2). Innes summarises them succinctly, saying "…speakers must speak sincerely and honestly; they must be in a legitimate position to say what they do, with credentials or experience to back them up; they must speak comprehensibly-jargon and technical language communicates poorly; and what they say must be factually accurate in terms of scientific or other methods of verification. Finally, the group should seek consensus…" (Innes 1998).

Authors have continued to study and debate the requirements for civic dialogue (Beauregard 2003) and social learning (Wenger 2000), to better understand under what circumstances and in which situations genuine discourse with meaningful communication can happen. The search for actualisation is as strong as ever in England since the recent planning reforms (Baker et al. 2011). In addition to the depth of access to power, and the width of social networks, meaningful communication requires high levels of trust and openness (Allmendinger & Tewdwr –Jones 2002, Innes & Booher 2004). It is argued that participation is undermined because the necessary trust in the system is lacking and that participation should be built on trust within the network (Senecah 2004). This includes mutual trust between the actors of a network, trust in the process or buy-in, and each actor's trust in their own ability to meaningfully contribute. There would be openness to challenge others' views and to be challenged whether part of a traditional hegemony, an experienced expert or lay participant with good local knowledge. Given the ambitiousness of the task at hand, it is argued that planners must have an effective strategy for participation in order to build the best conditions, avoid potential corruption of the process and anticipate and prepare to address communication difficulties.

Part of the strategy for meaningful participation concerns true representation of the different social actors (Forester 1999, Healey 2005, Innes 1996, Innes & Booher 1999). To achieve real power

sharing between government agencies and civil society many actors must be present in order to cover the range of different stakeholder groups and issues that are at stake. In anticipation of limited or lack of power sharing, and possible "lack of plural representation, power imbalances and lack of power sharing on the part of agencies" (Laurian 2009, p.378), authors focus on good representation of society. Direct participation of the actors from different groups is called for, particularly those who might easily be excluded. These include: under-represented socio-demographic groups such as specific age cohorts; those anticipated to encounter political conflict for example particular interest groups; those whose risks are highest in relation to development; and those who might have difficulties being present e.g. time-poor or with a disability. This type of 'representativeness' differs from statistical notions of random sampling of a population. Presented instead as a type of 'network design', it aims to structure network participation according to values or issues, with the caveat that the network should remain open to unanticipated contributors (Eden et al. 2006).

Another area of communicative strategy for participatory planning is improving the ease of participation. Transport, venues, costs and so on are considered matters of common sense, but concerns surround not just who is present but who actually can take part (Larson & Lach 2008). Such critiques relate both to material, physical and communicative ability as well as to psychological aspects. A recent example in the UK demonstrated this, where lay actors find the world of "policy-communities" too complex and therefore unresponsive (Gallent & Robinson 2010a, 2010b). These types of issues add to the argument that policy actors who might normally be leaders or decision-makers but should not be allowed to automatically do so in the participatory arena. Inverting assumed notions of authority is also coherent with the premise of challenging traditional hierarchies, so that processes should depend on upward momentum from grass-roots (Weinstein 2009; Ostrom 1990; Lane & McDonald 2005) rather than be constructed as top-down invited spaces with "governable subjects and governable spaces" (Roy 2009).

A range of different interactive modes has been constructed to suit a variety of contexts as witnessed by the many 'listings' of possible strategies (e.g. Lovan 2004). There are citizen oriented approaches where discussion can be structured around teasing out 'issues' in consultative focus groups and citizen panels or around deliberation, such as citizen juries and visioning exercises for example. Qualitative investigations are generally seen as the most suited to participatory governance, which explore broad questions in depth with a small sample rather than asking very targeted questions to a large numbers of people. This harks back to Giddens' strong endorsement of face-to-face, in-depth communication or "deep facework" (Giddens 1994) to build trust between perceived 'experts' and others who must essentially trust them. But given the potential for outreach

through new media and Internet technology, these modes are increasingly common for example with the use of online mapping and social networking capabilities (Rantanen & Kahila 2009). Some authors suggest quantitative approaches although few fit the communicative model well. Many are 'consumer-style' such as satisfaction measures, others more quantitative and organisational, like surveys or 'complaint schemes'. The case made for these is that they can enhance participation among particular cohorts, for example offering flexibility for those unable or unwilling to attend in person.

The quality of communicative plan-making is implicitly a part of the strategy for producing knowledge. For example whether it eventually manages to mediate interests can also affect relationships and the strength of the collaborative network (Rydin 2007). The performance of the network in terms of planning is also critical, since it is conceived specifically as a force to action (Sager 2009, Campbell 2012). This is to say that it should have momentum for policy making. Many authors debate whether or not the planning process is in practice either slowed down or indeed speeded up by the introduction of participatory approaches, but most agree that there is no convincing evidence either way.

Some authors directly address the performance of the network in terms of its impact on political knowledge building (e.g. Healey 1997, Innes & Booher 2004). Nyseth for example (Nyseth 2008) argues for careful scrutiny of policies to prevent any threat to representative democracy, citing a case in Tromso, Norway where opposition strategies were developed "in dialogue with the public", and similarly Flyvbjerg (Flyvbjerg 2001) gives the example of Aarlborg, Denmark, where public opposition was carefully managed through participation. To deal with such concerns some authors suggest the introduction of meta-governance by elected politicians to steer and control participatory practice (Sørensen & Torfing 2007).

Although there is much written about what aspects of networks and communication are influential on social learning potential, they are mainly concerned with general principles of engagement. The engagement processes of spatial planning are not specifically considered in relation to knowledge for planning. In the field of health policy by contrast, there is research around the ways to engage people with particular types of health need and within particular medical settings, but in spatial planning there is much less work of this type. Given the suggested importance of the modes to production of knowledge, engagement modes and processes will inform the research, in particular: participatory planning modes and the reasons given for their use, as well as how they are structured and management in relation to the spatial planning context.

2.6 Communication of non-planning knowledge

As already discussed in this chapter, the communicative model predicates participatory planning not only on its ability to build networks but also on its ability to produce knowledge-to-action (Friedmann 1987). Each section so far has added to the conclusion that much of the literature has specifically focused on power dynamics and processes, rather than the dynamics and processes involved in the production of planning knowledge. Chapter 3 will address this gap more directly by looking at literature on spatial planning and knowledge, but before that, this section completes the present consideration of collaborative planning with some reflections on what can be learned from participatory planning literature and its surround theories about communication with non-planners. It discusses the importance of language quality to the production of knowledge and issues of communication and expression in discursive processes with lay actors.

Collaborative planning theory demonstrates that the discursive approach to plan-making is closer to place-making than to codified land-use approaches. That is to say, the focus of much of the knowledge is space as it relates to community identities (the relational approach), rather than space as it relates to geometry (the Euclidian approach). In this framework planning distinguishes place from space, so that place is a human composition of the world created by local identities. In turn these identities are seen as constructed through shared local knowledge of history and legend or myth. Myths reach where memories do not (cf Lévi-Strauss 1978) and are, according to Lévi-Strauss' definition, "something commonly understood to be scientifically unfounded, bounding on the untrue, but never explicitly false". Just as institutions can be constructed by stories (as discussed in section 2.3), likewise places are social constructs that can also be opaque and rooted in histories. The difference in the literature is that they are more frequently presented as 'authentic' and rooted in 'shared stories'.

Place making uses the existing pieces of place identity to re-construct place in a new way, in part through new alliances. The understanding is that knowledge of place is far from instrumental and objective. As Forester puts it, "planners must develop an astute practical judgment to deal with far more than 'the facts' at hand especially when they face economic and political uncertainty, cultural and gender differences, and racially charged legacies, that threaten processes and outcomes" (Forester 1999, p.3). In the place-making approach, planners must grapple with issues of identity and collective memory (Halbwach 1992). Implicit are invisible bonds between people and places, as well as the implicit bonds between people (Rydin & Holman 2004). As described in described in theories of social capital these bonds may exist unnoticed, but appear to be visible during crises or moments of impending destruction (Putnam 1995). They are historical in that they have been built over time,

but cannot be traced in a linear way (Douglas 1987). They support and shape institutions and legitimise social groupings.

In theory then producing knowledge is about local social identities, as well as 'place identities'. Much has been written about the promise of 'local knowledge' it is seen often seen as "a great move forward" (Goldman 2003). It is accepted that there exists not just a singular knowledge but multiple knowledges (Rydin 2007), but debates continue about the role for such community knowledge. As well as individuals' values and 'subjective' views of the world, lifestyle choices, preferences and local experiential knowledge of the environment, a more practical role is also envisaged in terms of the conception of practical projects, how to get things done (Corburn 2007; Goldman 2003). In short a variety of knowledge claims exist in relation to place identity, and the search for the specificity of what can be learned is both theoretically challenged and incomplete.

By contrast a lot of work centres on the communicative form of local knowledges, meaning their language (in the most general sense of the word) and how they are communicated between people. As discussed above, the most well established mode is "qualitative, interpretive inquiry" (Fenster & Yacobi 2005). Storytelling in particular therefore has a distinctive role in place-making (Throgmorton 1996). Narrative forms produce a more accurate portrayal with an appropriate form of knowledge: it is value oriented; has with "a keen grasp of the particulars in light of more general principles" (Forester 1999, p.33); and is rooted in experiences. Stories can be used, through reportage, characterising people and objects, reading actors and their motivations as basis for network building or strengthening, and constructing means, ends values and options.

Storytelling and deep-facework modes have implications for the use of language, since the meanings of words are 'situated'. This is what Garfinkel called indexicality, where words relate directly to their context, so for example to understand "I tell you" we need to know who is speaking now, to whom and so on (Garfinkel 1984). Foucault is frequently referenced in literature on communicative planning for his contributions in *Les Mots et Les Choses* (Foucault 1970), which literally means 'Words and Things' but interpretatively translated as the order of things. His work examines use of words' literal and symbolic meanings to gain "pure experience of order", and brings out the heteroclite and cultural nature of social orders. The word "*choses*" (rather than say "objects") connotes a conceptual superstructure underpinning the material infrastructure, and this is a strong undercurrent in the participatory planning literature as well as challenging the tenets of natural science (Latour 2007).

Story telling is a different paradigm of communicating knowledge for planning, and it must be understood in the context of a move away from more instrumental paradigm. As repeatedly noted by recent planning theorists and in the previous sections, earlier planning approaches are now seen as unrealistic, false paradigms, with their unproblematic, linear routes to easily communicated 'truths' (Davoudi 2006; Kemmis 2001). Those were in line with scientific approaches to evidence, based on Popper's classic definition of "the criterion for the scientific status of a theory is its falsifiability, or refutability or testability" (Popper 1963). They were manifest for example in evidence-based approaches to policy of positivist planning in the 1960's and 1970's or in the UK's White Paper on Modernising Government, (Cabinet Office 1999).

As Flyvbjerg points out, "power determines what counts as knowledge, what kind of interpretation attains authority as the dominant interpretation" (Flyvbjerg 1998, p.226). Similarly, what is accepted as a 'proper' mode of communication is also subject to power constraints, and public engagement depends on the appropriate means of communicating. Model Cities approach (Coleman 1966) of cold war USA were widely judged to be badly suited to participatory urban planning with its roots in defence policy making and systems that were unable to engage lay communities, i.e. even had they been open to engagement the forms of communication would have been inappropriate with numerical modelling etc.. Frustrations with such issues of communication are apparent, for example when rational approaches to policy making are compared to a "drunk under lamp-post" looking for their lost keys (Innes 1998). In fact planners continue to include evidence-based modes in tandem with more discursive techniques, and there are conflicting perceptions of the validity of different linguistic forms or communication vehicles.

What is of particular interest to this section is how expression and communication of knowledge in the newer paradigm is extremely challenging. Therefore, for the empirical research, it will be important to understand the interaction of the different modes of communication and the effect of language and expression on learning. It should consider the language, symbols and other communicative artefacts that are employed and the effect they might have. The next section draws together conclusions from this and the preceding sections, before chapter 3 turns to investigate the literature on spatial planning.

2.7 Conclusions

As this chapter has shown, most research on participatory planning focuses on power dynamics, while underscoring the importance and complexity of the production knowledge in planning. Participatory planning emerged in the late twentieth century based on a relational understanding social order, and explicitly rejected positivist approaches to planning processes and to knowledge production. It perceives society to be 'plural', and therefore proposes a more transactive planning model, where power is re-distributed across diverse actors. This mode of planning depends on communicative networks of actors co-producing knowledge and is dominated by the need to rework institutions and resolve conflict. This provides several new possible roles for planners and reinforces the positions of 'lay' communities within planning. However important questions remain unanswered, and these questions are linked to achieving non-tokenist engagement and understanding the specificities of knowledge produced in collaborations for spatial planning.

Governance forms are not yet positioned as specifically spatial in the theories. Participation in the twenty-first century is distinguished by new technologies and an increasingly globalised context. Developing inclusive governance forms continues to be relevant and increasingly so as socio-spatial diversity and plurality continue to grow. No alternative approach has emerged to rival participation in tackling the challenges of plurality, at least not within a democratic context. Spatial planning is likely to have its own particular characteristics, and these are the area of interest for this research.

There is a tension between participatory planning and representative democracy, as they offer different routes to participation, but their principles are complementary and they both support democratic traditions. Participation is intended to make spatial planning more 'bottom-up' and with negotiated rather than imposed government. This enables institutions to be more connected to society with increased transparency of networks of power. Power can be redistributed but the spatial rationalities which form the institutional identity of spatial planning cannot be completely eroded, or at least not without undermining planning as a profession.

It is unclear whether there is any difference between planning as an arena for social learning, and the arena of social learning that may exist in any other policy domain, such as health or education. Knowledge to action is the goal of participation in planning. Participatory planning processes aim to understand the identity and characteristics of networks and actors (institutional and otherwise). Actors are working participants helping to shape knowledge as it is produced and planners are expected to be reflexive. Unlike other knowledge building, this involves social learning and co-production of knowledge. The resulting discursive processes and their dense networks are part of the outcomes. In addition, the reframing of spatial rationalities is an outcome (as well as one of the

processes) and particular spatial factors will be brought into play in the learning arena, these points are not yet investigated in terms of lay involvement in spatial planning.

Theoretical work on the communicative model demonstrates difficulties with the expert-centred and non-neutral role of planners. This role comes under a lot of scrutiny and a planner must be an independent, self-determining, self-scrutinising mediator. The proposition is that s/he become a mutual learner and take planning decisions even though it may favour one group's interests over another's. S/he might be co-opted by different interest groups, choose to be an advocate or act according to certain principles. These issues must be considered as part of any exploration of participatory planning.

Likewise, the praxis of producing knowledge in participatory planning is shown to be very challenging. Ideal speech conditions are not possible, Lifeworlds collide and meanings are contested. Deep facework and thick network building are time and resource intensive. Spaces for the process are sensitive to issues of ownership, control and power, which is critical as the context provided may influence the outcomes. The operation of networks will be integral to this study.

The final aspect of the social learning arena to be considered is the linguistic tools used and their effect on communication for different actors. Knowledge in participatory planning is different to that of modernist planning and the natural sciences. It has a place-making orientation and centres on learning about communities and identities. These are constituted through multiple and subjective values and 'data' is therefore highly indexical and heteroclite. An appreciation of the linguistic tools is critical but they can only be understood in context. In order to study participation then, extremely close observation or actual participation is required.

In conclusion, there are two over-arching or **primary research questions** about **(PRQ 1) whether community engagement constitutes a learning arena for spatial planning**, and about **(PRQ 2) the dynamic of knowledge types within spatial planning in the context of community engagement**. Based on the review of participatory planning literature, the following more targeted questions will be asked, in order to get closer to answering these broader research questions. These **secondary research questions** are:

SRQ 3: What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?
SRQ 4: What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?
SRQ 5: What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?
SRQ 6: What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved and what is their role in the learning dynamic?

To answer these questions this research will also need to consider for the empirical case study, within the context of lay participation: What are the perceived purposes of learning from community engagement? (for planners and for lay participants); What is the role of planners in relation to lay participation?; What participatory planning modes are used and why?; How are they structured and managed in relation to the spatial planning context?; What language, symbols and other communicative artefacts are employed and to what effect? Reflecting on these areas will help to answering the four secondary research questions and the two key research questions.

Chapter 3: Spatial Planning, Public Participation & Planning Knowledge

3.1 Introduction

This work aims to better understand the effect of lay participation on spatial planning, through its effect on learning, and this chapter aims to first establish the relevant characteristics of spatial planning for such an enquiry. Participation is a highly context-dependent phenomenon in that it is always *in* something, and for this study it is *in spatial planning*, forming part of the highly dynamic nexus of participation in spatial planning. The study asks what changes lay participation might bring to spatial planning and how lay participation might challenge or support the work of spatial planning. As discussed in chapter 2, participatory theories focus on the democratic legitimacy of lay participation in networks of governance and do so in a general way that is applicable to all policy domains. This leaves a gap in what can be said about the effect of community engagement on spatial planning in particular. It is also of interest because, as this chapter discusses, current conceptualisations of 'spatial planning' have a good deal of synergy with participatory theory.

The following sections of this chapter establish the current understandings of 'spatial planning' and their implications for knowledge and public participation. In doing so it traces several complementary thematic strands that converge on the relationship between spatial planning, public participation in planning and knowledge for planning. It begins by establishing the phrase 'spatial planning' as a terminology that denotes a particular approach to planning, and then describes the rationalities associated with it. Spatial planning is primarily characterised as 'integrative' in its approach to managing space. Discourses around spatial planning are seen to echo three themes: fluid space; integrative and holistic approaches to space; and collaborative approaches to spatial planning knowledge. A picture is built up which highlights the connections between spatial planning and public participation. Theorists point up the forces of cohesion across policy areas, between different groups of actors and across scales. The rhetoric from policy-making practice is also considered and appears to support the depiction in the literature. The integrative element seems to bring out a strategic attribute of spatial planning and increase its focus on functions rather than boundaries, which are portrayed as constantly shifting. Set hierarchies of scale and predefined notions of scope, i.e. breadth of the spatial policy domain, are in principle challenged by the new view of space and the associated integrative approach. In this light, public participation seems to relate not only to political purposes but spatial ones too.

This chapter ends by considering the implications of spatial planning theory for knowledge and for social learning. Starting from the premise that planning has its own particular approach to knowledge, the literature is interrogated about what knowledge building for spatial planning entails. The chapter poses questions about the types of knowledge that are thought to be associated with spatial planning. In general there is a move away from the strict 'land use' information or physically dominated knowledge and towards social learning and a socially constituted approach to knowledge. Particular attention is given to the ways in which public participation and knowledge for spatial planning interact.

3.2 'Spatial planning', a fresh perspective?

Talk of 'spatial planning' is increasingly common in planning literature, policy documents, teaching materials and practice guidance. Various words are used to describe the phenomenon but 'spatial' seems to be established as the generic descriptor and all focus on spatiality. It might at first appear disingenuous to suggest that a concept of 'spatial planning' is somehow new since the practice of planning has always surrounded physical space as such. There are also similar long standing terminologies such as the German term *Raumplannung,* which literally means 'space planning'. However, distinctive new theories can be found in current planning literature that are associated with the term 'spatial planning' rather than simply 'planning'. The word spatial is used with new emphases in theory and practice, and these are outlined in this section.

A body of work developing post-structural frameworks has evolved around the concept of spatial planning. Some authors specifically take a historical perspective, either giving a brief history of the evolution of planning or placing recent trends of practice in the context of particular historical events (e.g. Tewdwr-Jones 2006; Allmendinger & Haughton 2007, Tewdwr-Jones 2012). These theories centre on planning's adaption (or otherwise) to a new era.

In addition, the world of planning appears to have taken the notion of spatial planning as the hallmark of a new trend. Recent changes in practice, particularly in Europe, are presented as a means to a new direction in planning. Particularly in Europe, the profession uses the expression to signal new purposes and intended future directions. It evokes a break with past practices which have led to poor outcomes or lacked traction, and the spatial planning perspective is interpreted as a 'refreshing', 'renewal', or 'regeneration' of planning. Globally too the term is understood as a new and improved practice form. Commentaries see spatial planning as replacing out-dated and heavily criticised forms of practice with new, more socially equitable planning (UN-HABITAT 2009). This is true whether the focus is on the 'global south' or the 'global north'.

In French translations one particular new connotation is apparent, where *Aménagement du Térritoire* and its re-transliteration back into English transforms the word Spatial into Regional, Territorial or Strategic[1]. This regional aspect was also strongly embedded in the formal interpretations originally adopted in UK planning law. Specifically, the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 ("The Planning Act" 2004) introduced legislation based on notions of spatial planning, stipulating that planning should be rooted in regional spatial development strategies and involve local development schemes. In 2008, further regulations in an amending Act ("The Planning

[1] For example, the chapter on Roots and Context in Faludi 2002 and its discussion of the Torremolinos charter, which was adopted by CEMAT in 1984

Act" 2008) and a governmental Planning Policy Statement (PPS 12) continued to support the system of 'local development frameworks' (LDFs). Across England, Regional Planning bodies were to be responsible for Regional Spatial Strategies (RSSs) that set out a 'spatial vision' to guide development in their region. Local Authority planners would produce a raft of Local Development Documents, including Core Strategies that identified strategic priorities and preferred sites for development, in line with these RSSs.

More recent planning reforms in England have taken a new interpretation, removing the regional tier of spatial planning. The RSSs were abolished with the Localism Act ("The Localism Act" 2011), although the legal provisions for LDFs remain in place, which places spatial planning at a lower scale or borough or district. The National Planning Policy Framework (DCLG 2012) is very broadly constituted and does not provide a national spatial strategy as the RSSs did. It does not use the term 'spatial planning' other than in reference to PPS12 2008 as a 'material consideration'. Principle elements of spatial planning remain in place at the district level (Local Development Frameworks). The new neighbourhood tier of planning, which the Localism Act introduced ("The Localism Act" 2011) is primarily intended to confer on communities new "rights to shape the development of the communities in which they live" (ibid). No overarching steer or direction is given for such Neighbourhood Development Plans, but one of the conditions for adoption, is given that they should be 'in general conformity' with strategic policies (ibid). At the point of writing the Neighbourhood Development Plans are starting to emerge from independent examinations.

The term 'spatial planning' is used in a diverse range of ways which makes it hard to offer a unified definition. The notion is complex, contested and still under consideration in the worlds of theory, research and practice. Commentators (e.g. Allmendinger & Haughton 2007; Faludi & Waterhout 2002; Haughton et al. 2010; e.g. Healey et al. 1997) acknowledge that it is defined by what it is not, by contrasting it with other modes of planning, rather than comparing it to any precise classification of itself. However there are several strong interwoven themes and three meta-discourses pervade spatial planning literature. 'Fresh perspective' is one and the others are a conceptually fluid view of space (section 3.3) and integrative spatial planning (section 3.4).

This 'spatial turn' echoes the 'communicative turn' discussed in chapter 2 and is also rooted in the distinctive aspirations of a more networked form of governance. Hierarchical principles are explicitly rejected and replaced by principles of social inclusivity, reflexive planning practice and communicative or interpretive knowledge building. Complementarities to participatory theory are apparent in the commentaries about 'new spatial planning'. The next two sections set out the theoretical background to fluid space and integrative rationalities of spatial planning, and the final

sections return to describe in more detail what the ‘regenerated’ planning form of ‘spatial planning’ entails in terms of learning.

3.3 Fluidity of space in spatial planning

As already outlined, the term 'spatial planning' centres on a fresh understanding of planning for a new era. It is a post-modern era where previously accepted boundaries, of all types, are rejected in favour of fluidity. For example, social class distinctions and institutional hierarchies appear to disintegrate in the face of new ideologies and new views about 'how the world works'. This has led to interpretations in planning literature of space as fluid and relational rather than an unchanging and discrete entity. Reference is made in that body of work to key thinkers of the late twentieth century such as Bourdieu, Giddens, Foucault and Lacan. The basic concepts are described in this section using the French philosopher Lefebvre as an exemplar because of his particular focus on spatiality.

Theoretical interpretations of current spatial planning practice display common themes that draw on a post-structural conceptualisation of the world as 'fluid'. That is to say it is constantly and cyclically being re-created and evolving in a loop of social feedback on the embodied world, which affects social perceptions and so on. This reflexivity in spatial planning theory is built on the work of late twentieth century, philosophers, sociologists and other theorists' who take an interpretive view of existence. In their *Weltanschauung*, perceptions of realities are formed subjectively through experience of the world and also have the potential to affect the world. For example Bourdieu's writing on "habitus" (Bourdieu 1998) describes how subjective reactions develop through internalised experience of objective conditions, such as social structure. Similarly the accepted norms of such reactions within a society can create a "doxic" state with harmonious equilibrium of the subjective and objective experiences (Bourdieu 1977).

Fundamentally these sociological theories are concerned with social realities and they offer new, relational approach to understandings of the world. The social (re-)construction of meaning is central in that human existence is formed by the perceived relationships and their structures (e.g. Giddens 1986; Foucault 1972; Foucault 1979). Essentially, the argument is that perception is a function of imagination and can be buried in the subconscious. The 'mutually constructed' nature of existence gives these theories a strong communicative dimension. This translates into planning theory as an emphasis on the benefits of communicative action. As discussed below, spatial planning literature is permeated by relational discourses around social constructs, networks of relationships and two-way (or multi-directional) flows of knowledge.

This relational approach emphasises that the use of language influences actions, and that this holds problems for understanding 'space'. Language itself is characterised as symbolic (Bourdieu 1991). In this portrayal of language, words are seen as empty signifiers (e.g. Lacan 2006) until they are

attributed meaning and the meaning is constantly contested and re-worked (e.g. Flyvbjerg 1998). This becomes highly relevant to all types of planning theory where power struggles are manifest in human conflict over the meaning of space and communication becomes a tool of power. The social difficulties perceived by the sociologists mentioned above resonate in the commentaries on spatial planning and planning practice itself. For example, scales of interest to planning are contested by different interest groups particularly in the debate on regional spatial planning in Western Europe and local planning in the UK.

There are implications for understandings of space that can be seen for example in the work of the French philosopher Lefebvre, who is frequently cited in spatial planning theory. He sees space as a social product rather than a pre-existing ontological given, and therefore what constitutes 'space' as not fixed but fluid. This implies that there is no universal truth about space, only a series of occurrences. In his writings, space and society mutually construct each other, affecting and producing each other, and consequently theories of society and space are presented as practically inseparable. *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre 1991) presents space not as a fixed known entity waiting to be filled or zoned, but as a process whereby 'space' is constructed. His argumentation centres on the idea that constructed notions of space are distinct from experiential knowledge gained in daily life. Critically, he presents experiential knowledge of space as more fluid than abstracted space. Constructed notions of space are highly abstracted and homogenous, in order to be reproducible (ibid, p.396), and by contrast knowledge from daily life is contextual and changeable.

To understand space then, Lefebvre suggests that we need to understand the ways it is constructed. Three ways are described: how it is perceived in daily life (spatial practices); as conceived by (e.g.) planners (representations of space); and lived space (spaces of representation) which is life *"as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'"* (his emphasis, Lefebvre 1991, p.39). Integral to this so-called "spatial triad" are the conflicting meanings of space to the different actors and the resulting social struggles. Although this feeds into a negative critique of capitalism, the concept of socially produced space does not in itself contain a normative goal or particular end point, such as Marxist revolution, rather it is an ongoing process of flux. This relentless process is seen in spatial planning practice which continually seeks new visions and strategies for the future.

Lefebvre approaches space in three ways: as natural physical space; as mental space or the discursive construction of space; and as social space, experienced, or lived space. This depiction sets the scene for his argument that the abstract concepts of space typically dominate the other

domains. His argument is that this shapes the way in which space is viewed by society generally and within the social sciences, that is as a representation of space as an absolute. Critically, he challenges those approaches to understanding space which he sees as dominated by Cartesian logic, and the lack of attention given to lived experiences. This is a fundamental challenge to the dominant ways of thinking about space, or as Watkins puts it, “the vast majority of mainstream considerations of space being informed by, and delimited within, the powerful ideological tendencies that inform all attempts at scientific understanding” (Watkins 2005). This standpoint is also evident within the descriptions of spatial planning, which is said to reject the ways of thinking associated with modernist traditions, as discussed below.

3.4 Integrative rationalities of spatial planning

This section focuses on the concept of spatial planning and its implications for planning knowledge. It looks at dominant themes within theoretical works and reflected in the self-image of practice, and their spatial rationalities. The themes surround policy scope, functional space, and scalar complexity. Much of the existing work on these matters is focused on what this means for the processes and outcomes of planning, but here they are considered in relation to knowledge and approaches to space. A description emerges of 'vertical' and 'horizontal' reordering in a matrix of complex relational networks that are constantly in flux, echoing the discussions in the earlier sections of this thesis. As outlined in the rest of this section, the rationalities associated with spatial planning can be characterised as typically premised on integration or interconnectedness.

Integrating policy domains

Integrative spatial planning is partly premised on the idea that policy making was previously fractured into policy silos and should be more holistic. The literature on spatial planning portrays twentieth century planning as rigidly structured around isolated policy areas. It is said that 'segments' such as the environmental and social aspects have in the past been treated as individual elements (e.g. Tewdwr-Jones 2006). So for example spatial, social, economic, environmental, financial, and lifestyle-related factors were considered discreet elements with separate strategies, through different policies and by exclusive designated authorities.

The rationale of the so-called 'silo' approach to policy making is criticised for failing to produce beneficial outcomes. Many historical cases of planning policies are given where a single focus has been taken with poor socio-spatial results. For example Haughton et al. argue that the problems in Leeds, which have been growing over the past 20 years, are linked directly to the economic focus of the City Region Strategy (Haughton et al. 2010). Although the story is one of economic success as Leeds became a strong financial centre in England[2], the strategy did not deal with the concomitant effects of development and their social consequences. The business-led regeneration impacted on the property market, by raising rents and making house prices unaffordable for local people. The authors describe the results saying, "the poor are being moved around the city to make way for new residential spaces close to the city centre" (ibid, p.162) and arguing that in this way local communities were disintegrating. Similarly, focusing policy on the sole component of economic competitiveness in the global market is said to have 'disintegrative' force. The implications are that strategic planning needs to recognise how in daily life the different elements work together and that urban problems should be tackled by 'joined-up' approaches across a range of policy areas.

[2] Haughton said it was second only to London.

In contrast to segmented policy making, spatial planning rationalities draw on different policy elements and how they interact. Theorists argue that spatial planning integrates a range of policy sectors, e.g. “bringing together strategic perspectives on land development, environmental concerns, resource use, transport, economic development, social infrastructure, and similar concerns” (Allmendinger & Haughton 2007, p.1478). The unique identity of individual elements is not of interest to planning in itself, but rather each is seen from the perspective of how it interacts with the others. No hierarchy of the importance of individual policy sectors is intended by spatial planning theory, but rather holistic spatial policies are underpinned by broad or cross-cutting social objectives such as quality of life for local communities. Some authors highlight how such cross-cutting objectives have been socially constructed through the European socio-democratic traditions, welfare principles and the consequent promotion of social and cultural diversity (e.g. Davoudi & Strange 2008, citing Esping-Andersen 1990).

A holistic view of what planning should address includes social as well as physical concerns or issues related to the market, and planning practice in England seems to support this view. The Royal Town Planning Institute has for instance stated that “planning must cover a wider range of activities, including such matters as health and the environment” (RTPI 2001, p.5). Spatial planning theory argues that in most cases policy impacts *will* affect other policy areas, either positively or negatively. So, policy goals from different sectors either support each other or conflict, rather than being neutral. The promise of the spatial planning approach is understood as additional value and better outcomes accrue to multiple policy areas where different goals are complimentary. Planning is positioned as a focus for policy that can deal with the synergies and conflicts of the whole spectrum of social issues, e.g. energy and waste (as energy is often produced from waste), rail transport with housing, or environmental and economic priorities. Spatial planning is clearly defined as balancing social objectives and synthesising and exploiting synergies between them. It is therefore highly strategic and it is thought to require the integration of different policy agendas (Albrechts 2004).

Spatial planning rationalities of policy integration can be seen to take two directions; either coordinating policy areas or building the spatial components of each policy area into an overarching planning strategy. In the former, sectors remain administratively divided but are coordinated through communication around spatial concerns. The logic is that policy issues come together around a common point of planning for the area. As Healey puts it, people increasingly perceive planning “as one of the tools to reach this coordination among sectors” (Healey et al. 1997, p.246). In the latter, functional divisions in policy verticals are eroded within planning itself. This creates a two-way relationship between planning and other public policy fields. This can be exemplified by the

UK's local planning strategies[3] which are specifically based on 'Community Strategies' (e.g. Allmendinger & Haughton 2007). In both rationalities of policy integration, spatial planning may be in part shaped by other policies as well helping to shape them.

The point of the above reflections is that there is a strong rationality of integrating policy domains within spatial planning, however concerns about the policy balance remain. Critiques of spatial planning focus on the continuing power of structures of capital, and on the dominance of the economic policy domain. Thriving capitalist economies are still an objective for spatial planning but their dominance in the strategic agenda has been specifically challenged (e.g. Haughton & Allmendinger 2007; Healey 2010). Authors pay close attention to the influences on planning policy development from different sectors and some theorists continue to debate the balance of domains within planning. This relates to the possible re-homogenising effect of overarching guiding principles which could dominate a spatial strategy. Sustainability could be such a driver for policy, e.g. "a central-government interpretation of sustainable development which emphasises it as a way of addressing simultaneously economic, social, environmental, and resource-efficiency objectives" (Allmendinger & Haughton 2007, p.1492). More commonly economic concerns are felt to dominate other policy areas, as discussed below. These types of tension lead several authors to call for further investigation into sector 'porosity' and even "more explicit consideration of issues of 'scope'" (ibid p.1493) implying that planning may be threatened by not having its own policy boundary.

In rejecting policy silos spatial planning is most strongly connected to elements of conceived space (representations) from Lefebvre's spatial triad. It deals in ideals and agendas, which relate to absolute and objectified space. In doing so it tends to favour an integrative rationality, even to the point of lacking definition for its own policy scope.

Functional integration

With its 'broad policy' approach to governing physical space, spatial planning is seen to take an integrated view of functions across space. Rather than simply assuming that administrative or political boundaries are appropriate, it seeks to determine functional coherence. Theorists discuss how geographic areas can be spatially coherent or legitimate based on the way they function (Haughton et al. 2010; Healey et al. 1997 etc.). Just as policy segmentation is said to be remote from the realities of daily life, so 'single area approaches' are said to overlook functional realities of space. In doing so, according the theory, they are failing to understand patterns in land use that are constantly changing and have wider social contingencies (Healey et al. 1997). In the UN-Habitat's

[3] Core strategies, which have been renamed as local plans, form the highest tier of spatial planning currently remaining in the UK since the Localism reforms of 2011. See section 3.2 for a discussion of other parts of the reforms.

2009 'Global Report on Human Settlements' (p.16) in a section on "spatial planning and its variants" strategic spatial planning is contrasted with plans that seek an 'end state' or produce zoning. This view echoed by many authors who directly compare the spatial approach with regulatory and legal forms of planning.

Planning approaches that fail to see holistic functional areas are criticised for envisaging segmented spaces rather than the full scope of functions affecting the area. The effects of piecemeal approaches which lack 'strategic vision' include for instance the inappropriate positioning or service provision in human settlements. This narrow or non-integrated approach to places leads in extremis to risk from natural disasters. This happens frequently according to Pelling, who says "the majority of work on urban disaster risk is organised by an analysis of phenomena tied to particular place" (Pelling 2007). For instance, much of the flooding risk for residents of Lagos has been attributed to lack of attention to the need for strategic storm drainage combined with low provision of affordable residential land (UN-Habitat 2011).

By contrast with other planning approaches, spatial planning looks at how space is used. As Healey (1997) describes it, spatial planning is an active force towards "*patterns* of land use" (her emphasis) rather than single or specific uses. Practitioner views support this statement and encourage recognition of such patterns, "for example, the areas within which people search for jobs and homes or natural watersheds and river catchments" (RTPI 2001). It seeks to address functional imbalances within regions and in Western Europe particularly those caused by developer-driven urban restructuring, such as the negative side-effects of the recent economic boom experienced in Ireland. In that case the 'Celtic Tiger' grew by 20% p.a. in the final five years of the twentieth century, but at the same time experienced growth in poor quality urban fabric (with a so-called bungalow blight) and increased degradation of its ecosystem such as the pollution of groundwater (Haughton & Allmendinger 2007).

The integrated pattern approach is grounded in notions of functional efficiency, especially in the context of extreme socio-economic divisions. Zhu (Zhu 2010) makes the case that patterns of use must be recognised in dealing with very high and increasing population densities in cities[4]. He argues that market failure combined with a narrow zoning approach to urban planning during periods of fast urbanisation results in a deteriorating urban environment, as well as poor economic performance, and socio-spatial inequity. For example in Jakarta the struggling economy and weak planning powers resulted in fragmented parcels of informal development in the centre of town, and this subsequently encouraged isolated private developments in the suburbs. "As a result, a social

[4] Especially where he cites UN population data for Dakar as 23.3 thousand pop per ha^2

divide is created between the poor city and the rich suburbs, while other economic inefficiencies and environmental costs reduce the liveability and sustainability of urban life" (ibid p.278). Such arguments clearly present the role of spatial planning as creating future visions for development in areas that are integrated based on what is known of their functional patterns.

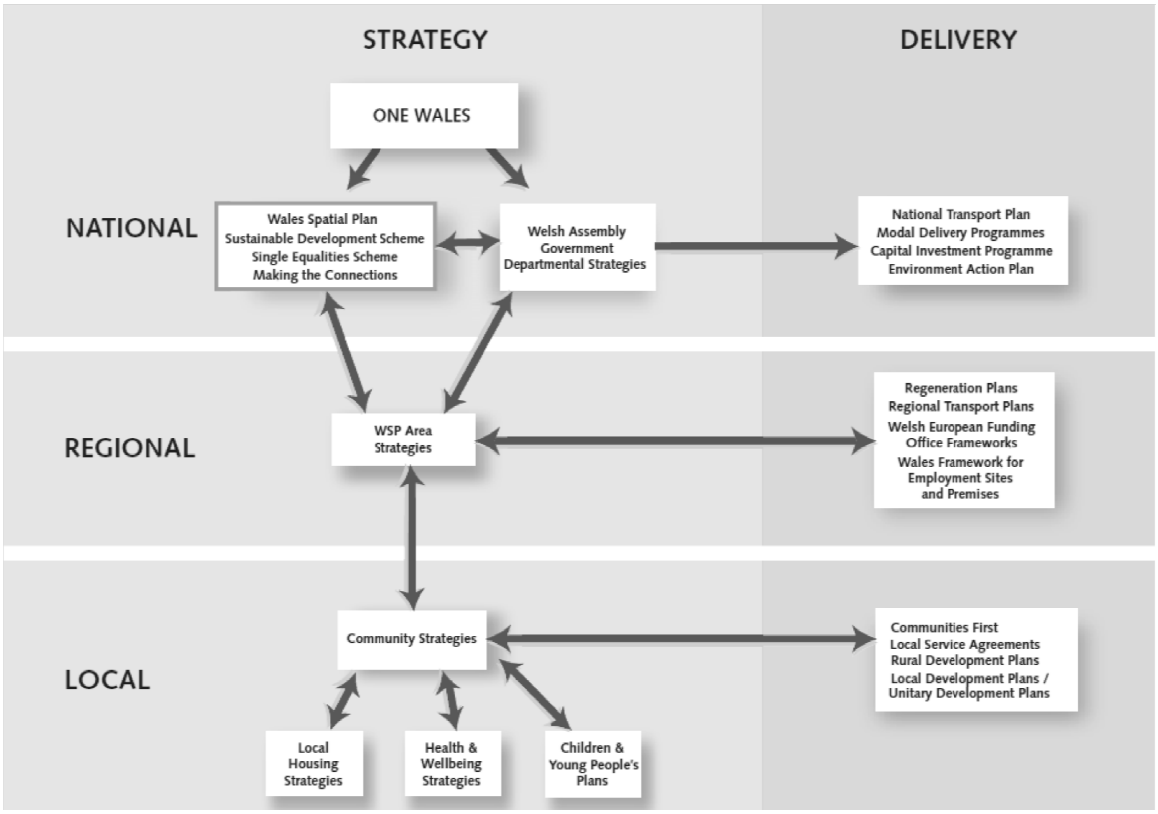
So, a normative picture of 'planning for functionally integrated spaces' appears, where spatial planning is the point of coalescence of functions and policy areas. This aspect can be likened to the spatial practices or perceived space element of Lefebvre' the spatial triad. However, functional boundaries are not commonly, legally or legislatively defined as is frequently noted across the literature. Instead, functionally coherent areas are by nature fluid and frequently pose a direct challenge to the administrative boundaries. This raises concerns around the power over and legitimacy of plans, and introduces complexity into spatial planning's understanding of scale.

Approaches to scale

Complexities of scale are inherent in the integrative rationality, since fluidity implies scalar reordering in a new "mosaic of (uneven and dynamic) interlayered scalar geometries" (Brenner 2001, p.606). There are important political implications associate with such reordering, and a body of work has grown up surrounding such issues. Issues of rescaling areas for strategic planning sit alongside issues of repositioning governance and often within new institutional contexts. This raises questions about the 'appropriate' scales of operation, the width of the area of interest and 'right' scales for spatial planning. Frequently the regional level is identified as the locus of spatial planning but there are many examples of international and local scale spatial planning too. Such scalar complexities are clearly political but they also present concerns for this thesis because planning knowledge must respond to it. This section considers ways in which different scales and working 'across the scales' are seen to construct meaning within planning, and the implications for planning knowledge.

The literature highlights tensions, which are associated with working 'across the scales'. Cases are given to demonstrate the perceived risk of the 'wrong' scale of governance for a particular area of policy. Pugalis (Pugalis 2009) argues that regeneration is being incorrectly treated as a subset of national economic thinking by the CLG (citing Communities and Local Government 2008). He says local regeneration needs are being overshadowed by national priorities of economic competitiveness with the result that the areas most in need of investment are not specifically targeted by the policies but only allocated a 'trickle down effect'. Some writers feel that spatial planning offers the opportunity to address asymmetries of scale and scope by repositioning policy within an appropriate scale. For example addressing transport at a polycentric or meta-regional level

as and housing in smaller sub-regional areas (Faludi & Waterhout 2002). Theories such as these are grounded in the political context of the particular case, and concern top-down and universalist approaches to space. This critique can be seen at different scales.



Box 3.1: The Wales Spatial Plan (2008, p.6) a national plan connected across the scales

Meanings attributed to scale are generally focused on the sites of power and planning authority. This frequently relates to the national scale and it is argued that power can be transferred both up and down the scales, i.e. to supra-national or sub-national regional level. The trend towards the regional scale includes cases such as the London Plan (GLA 2011), which takes into account the other areas surrounding the capital to each direction[5]. More recently the current re-working of the English planning systems posits the neighbourhood scale as an *intrinsically* legitimate scale of planning as it empowers the community scale. The new National Planning Policy Framework (DCLG 2012) is not a spatial plan in the terms set out in this thesis, however, it is of interest that it puts certain power at the national scale. In the words of the minister responsible at that time for the Department for Communities and Local Government, Greg Clarke MP[6], "in practice, the policies outlined in the national planning policy framework will determine, in each case, what is and is not sustainable" (Hansard 2012).

[5] As far as, Bedford, Luton, Cambridge, Southend, Medway, Crawley, Basingstoke Reading High Wycombe
[6] Succeeded by Nick Bowles MP, 4th September 2012

Supra- and intra-national interactions also feed into practitioner definitions of planning, but legitimate power remains the main interest in current debates around issues of scale. For example, the spatial planning and development work of the northern European intergovernmental multilateral co-operation around the Baltic Sea Region brings 11 countries together in VASAB (Visions and Strategies around the Baltic Sea 2010). As well as highlighting the multiple occurrences that help construct places, most theorists examine the move to a relational networked governance form with local, regional, national and supra-national actors in contest over space. Amin for instance examines the influence of global technologies and corporations, as well as the situated encounters and layers of inherited history within places (Amin 2002). So, the assessment of forces at the higher scale focuses on the balance of interests within space and not on planning knowledge.

Since the start of this century authors have highlighted a normative regional shift within Europe where in effect the EU is contesting member states national spatial order. The EU's stated aims link sub-national power interests with its own; it promotes the principles of subsidiarity, cohesion and free pan-EU[7] movement of goods services and people. This political legitimacy associated with scales of authority is again the focus of theorising. For instance, Allmendinger for example highlights the strengthening of 'local' regional policy making in the newly devolved national structure of the UK after the constitutional[8] reforms which devolved governance to the Scottish, Irish and Welsh nations of the UK post 1997 (Allmendinger & Haughton 2007). Some theories portray the development of regional policy making as a quest for mechanisms of economic (sub-national) governance, under the banner of 'competitive regions' constructed around regional power, knowledge and money. Allen for instance (Allen et al. 1998) says that the global political context is intrinsically linked to the rise of the regions which are increasingly competing within international markets. Theorists continue to critique higher scales primarily in terms of governance (e.g. Buser 2012).

Scalar and administrative complexities are an accepted part of spatial planning. As Amin puts it, planning is undertaken across a "topology marked by overlapping near-far relations and organisational connections that are not reducible to scalar spaces" (Amin 2002, p.386). The national identities and relative positions of the different actors are part of this complexity whether local, regional, national, supra-national, global or other scalar configuration. Knowledge in spatial planning is not the centre of theorising, but there are some epistemological implications. Most theorising is

[7] Albeit within a multi-speed system where barriers exist to a lesser extent between the original 'core' countries, e.g. through the Schengen Agreement, by dint of variable reciprocity of welfare arrangements or through the fiat of common currency

[8] The UK has no single constitution, however, powers were devolved to Scotland with the Scotland Bill which was introduced to Parliament in December 1997 and became law as the Scotland Act in November 1998, and similarly for Wales and Northern Ireland.

grounded in the political context of a particular case, rather than any universal or Euclidian principle of space. In addition it is of interest that issues of scale within spatial planning theory do not suggest an integrative rationality, as issues of policy domains and functions do.

Spatial plans are, in theory, expected to provide an overarching strategic framework for different types of policy and functions, by networks of actors at 'appropriate' scales. As in collaborative planning, spatial planning considers the "issues, actors and relationships involved" (Healey et al. 1997, p.6) and see space primarily as relationally constituted. As Jones neatly describes, "space is frequently being imagined as a product of networks and relations, in contrast to an older topography in which territoriality was dominant" (Jones 2009). Polycentric urban regions, such as the earlier VASAB example, fit this description. The realities of these networks for imagining space are a central theme, "the materiality of everyday life is constituted through a very large number of spaces - discursive, emotional, affiliational, physical, natural, organisational, technological, and institutional" (Amin 2002, p.389). How the different actors within these networks relate not only to each other but also to space is fundamental to understanding them, but the role of civic stakeholders within the networks is not well developed within this body of thought.

Theorists and practitioners alike see the multiple varied strengths and distances of geographies and so on, calling into question spatial politics and the role of existing network and relationships. "Planning decisions should no longer be constrained by artificial local administrative areas which are often arbitrary and potentially constraining to ensuring the most effective dialogue. This requires a more flexible approach to 'planning areas' dependent upon the issues being addressed - different regions for different issues;" (RTPI 2001). Spatial planning practice, at least as presented by the professional body in England, therefore explicitly wishes to challenge where dialogues are taking place, and to open the debate out to non-planners and civil society. Participatory planning theory also argues that this can be achieved by framing the changes and promoting dialogue to the varied policy communities of interest (Healey et al. 1997).

Strategic spatial planning is expected to comprise human hopes, dreams and aspirations for the future. As discussed in chapter 2, this is a driving force behind public engagement in strategic spatial planning, yet concerns about the realism of such an endeavour abound. There are difficulties related to equity and power redistribution but there are also concerns about understanding space. As described by spatial planning theorists and practitioners, the knowledge in spatial planning appears to surround the function of spaces an appropriately wide range of social issues. It is driven by a rationality of coherent space and integrative policy domains. Lay participation could be part of the process of creating such knowledge but this area of theory is under-researched.

3.5 Knowledge & learning for spatial planning

So far this chapter has noted fluid space (3.3) and the integrative aspects of spatial planning (3.4). In light of these, spatial planning is based on knowledge of interactions between people and space, urban living, and current trends and patterns in the use of space. Spatial planning knowledge therefore theoretically involves a wide group of 'social learners'. This observation demonstrates how closely and comfortably participatory planning theory sits alongside spatial planning theories. However spatial planning theory places emphasis on the purposes of creating spatial visions. Building spatial visions is therefore identified as the main subject interest of spatial planning and within this thesis 'spatial visions' is the 'topic area' of the social learning arena. That point is critical to this work, even though participation itself is not primarily considered a tool of planning and is considered an outcome in itself, because the 'subject matter' may affect the nature of joint learning. This section explores the nature of spatial planning knowledge, reflecting particularly on building spatial visions and participation as learning for that endeavour.

Knowledge for spatial planning is highly contextual and social, i.e. it is contingent on where and when it is situated and who is involved in creating it. Although spatial planning is not site-specific, it still derives from 'place' rather than space. That is to say that it aims to improve particular areas for those who live there, rather than being concerned with space for its own sake. As established in the discussions above, space is seen as fluid therefore it changes over time and within this fluidity, human construction of place is of primary importance. Spatial planning theory emphasises that there is no single static 'Big Atom', saying e.g. "the globe we live on with its man-made environment ruled by complex socio-cultural, economical, and political effects, are confronted with the ability of mankind to adapt its behaviour and to invent new technologies" (Kohlschretzenmayr et al., 2004). In addition, the places spatial planning seeks to manage are continually made and re-made, and they are co-created by various people. It follows that spatial planning knowledge cannot be understood through scientific methods to establish certain universal principles, as we cannot create a "postulated invisible world" (Popper, 1963) for experiment and theory testing.

'The urban' with all its embedded human behaviours and interactions is presented in spatial planning theory as intrinsically complex and highly relational. Scientific knowledge appears to be inappropriate for learning about complex human relations. These subjects preclude positivist techniques of knowledge building such as modelling. In the late 1960s planners attempted to solve urban problems using systems approaches that cast cities as independent ecological entities (Bailey, 1975). For instance McLoughlin and Chadwick aimed to generate 'cumulative' knowledge in the

natural sciences tradition, to model cities as a set of systems and sub-systems (Davies, 1997). Spatial planning theorists directly challenge the relevance of such 'scientific techniques'.

Systems approaches which have set objectives for planning and targets that can be used to monitor results are no longer considered valid in the way that they used to be. The argument is that planning has moved beyond a quest to discover simple rational ends and the means to implement them (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002) and that therefore "the old planning model, rooted in nineteenth-century concepts of science and engineering, is either dead or severely impaired" (Friedmann, 1993).

This makes the definition of spatial planning knowledge hard though certainly not impossible. At the same time as planning has moved away from modernist, linear, land-use based techniques, spatial planning has evolved to understand urban knowledge as complex and relational. Theorists demonstrate an awareness (e.g. Beauregard, 2003) of the plurality which dominates knowledge for spatial planning, as it involves many related spheres, including the legal, political, economic and civil ones. It is also believed to require a more complex view of space itself, for instance where it is argued planning "must take space also to mean dwelling, affinity, immanence, relationality, multiplicity and performativity" (Amin, 2004). For practice, the implication is that planning needs a broad basket of information in order to cross the disciplines, as Biesbroek et al. put it providing "an integrated assessment" (Biesbroek et al., 2009, p.231). Spatial planning needs to encompass knowledge that can interpolate between multiple complex interactions within development.

To give a more practical demonstration of the knowledge sought for spatial planning, planners trying to understanding 'urban sprawl' must look beyond the sprawl itself and towards associated human values. They need knowledge of behavioural patterns and the choices associated with them (e.g. car use and house location), as well as an appreciation of the underlying values and what might affect them (Hopkins, 2001). Values are seen as demonstrating the deeper workings of complex systems of society and space by Hopkins, Friedman, Amin, Jones, and Healey to name a just few. This implies that spatial planning knowledge relates to the ways in which development is embedded in human lives, rather than seeing development as an entity. This is particularly relevant to the current investigation because suggests that lay actors' knowledge pertaining to lived space is required for building spatial visions. Participatory theory supports this idea, as it emphasises that the aim of stakeholder engagement is not to reduce the complexity but to tease out the multiple meanings and purposes of space and the diversity of connections and interactions.

Theorising around the nature of planning knowledge is informed by this link to present conditions and actors in the world. Hopkins for instance indicates that spatial planning knowledge is not predictive but seeks a deeper understanding with a view to taking action on present problems. “It does not assume universal predictive statements based on deduction or induction, but it does assume that explanations can be found that are useful and reliable for dealing with particular situations in the world” (Hopkins, 2001). A tension remains since spatial plans are long-term forward strategies yet they rely on knowledges that do not allow for predictions. Many authors deal with this issue, notably Flyvbjerg. He says that “practical rationality and judgment evolve and operate primarily by virtue of deep-going case experiences” (Flyvbjerg, 2001). In effect this offers a new approach to planning knowledge which looks for context-sensitive learning with the aim of “clarifying the problems, risks, and possibilities we face as humans and societies” (ibid). Again, this references contextual knowledge, judgments, values and interests rather than universal principles or material measures (Friedmann, 1993), and likewise communities are implicitly a source of this knowledge as it is the actor within the context.

The integrative aspects of spatial planning discussed earlier, imply that the knowledge required for any spatial plan will involve a diverse group of ‘stakeholders’. Spatial plans should, therefore, be created with the participation of a wide community of interests, and through ‘social learning’ as described in chapter 2. Whereas many cases of public engagement may involve site specific decisions, the present discussion suggests that lay participation in planning is especially relevant for more strategic planning. However, the relevance rests on a very particular type of social learning.

Participatory theories position the knowledge constructed in participatory planning processes not simply as a product for the profession spatial planning or its ‘outputs’, but as a collaborative effort with at least the potential for consensus (Innes, 1996; Sager, 1994). The logic is that the end and the means of planning are not in fact separate entities, but part of the same thing (as discussed e.g. by Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones 2002) to the extent that the strategic visions for the future should be held collectively and not just by planners (echoing e.g. Sandercock, Healey, Gunder). Likewise, co-learning with people who would critique or implement plans or live with the places involved in a plan is part of the ‘output’. It follows from this description of social learning, that ‘truly’ deliberative community engagement in spatial planning must involve co-production of shared ideologies.

Knowledge constructed through social learning must be readily communicable. Spatial planners must keep in mind the needs of a much wider audience than modellers for instance, as Hopkins puts it they should report their work “in a way relevant to other modelers” (sic, Hopkins 2001). In the context of social learning and public participation, spatial planning theory emphasises that other

communication types such as narratives and visual aids are powerful vehicles for knowledge about values, judgments and interests (as described by e.g. Foucault or Hillier). Communicative difficulties caused by the differences between planners' and non-planners' spatial languages and artefacts have been subjects of interest in the literature. Characteristics of planners' communication modes are discussed by Sandercock for instance, who highlights the inherent tendencies towards fantasy such as the rural idyll or multiculturalism (Sandercock, 1998). Others talk about the impossibility of distortion-free non-agonistic speech (Gunder & Hillier, 2009). These examples highlight the tension between the needs of social learning and the goal of building spatial visions.

As discussed in 2.4, the role of the planner is pivotal. Theoreticians are keen to underscore that planners have an active or 'transactive' relationship with the 'subject matter'. But they do this while seeking knowledge, that is to say that their own values and questions help shape the knowledge, for example by exploring conflict and disagreement in a productive way (Hopkins, 2001). So it is argued that planning not only involves politics but is itself political, partly due to co-producing knowledge. The extent of that political role of the planner is of great interest and strongly related to the planning context. For instance in transactive practice liberal and democratic norms would prevail, Friedmann describes this as "giving voice to the disempowered; integrating disempowered groups into the mainstream of economic and social life while preserving cultural diversity" (Friedmann 1993). Spatial planning knowledge is therefore highly sensitive to the prevailing culture of planning practice, and consequent openness to lay participation as a means to knowledge.

The different modes and purposes of communication between planners and communities will have an effect on the knowledge produced and the spatial planning purposes will also be critical. As discussed above, spatial planners are not just building a plan around which consensus might or might not be built. Rather, they are creating a mosaic of overlapping expert and experiential knowledges. They are also not simply involving the public to deepen democracy but also critically to deepen spatial understandings by joining different knowledge types. This "brings more detailed and specific knowledge to bear on a situation than would be possible if only expert knowledge were used" (Friedmann, 1993). The thrust of the present argument is that the different planning approaches have not just different effects on knowledge production but also different knowledge needs in themselves. While modernist planning seeks order (Hillier, 1995), spatial planning seeks ways to live in diverse and multiple worlds. Indeed, as described above even spatial planning aims to *create rules* rather than seeking out pre-existing 'laws of space'.

These theories create a picture of a highly dynamic field of knowledge with multiple actors involved in co-creating a possible future for themselves. The picture contains unresolved tensions. Gunder

and Hillier for instance even argue that diversity is actually a new form of orthodoxy, highlighting the tension in the relentless state of disagreement in that it stretches planning to the point where it is 'everything and nothing' (Gunder & Hillier 2009). For this research, there are two key tensions. Firstly, it raises the question of whether and how the potentially infinite basket of spatial knowledges can somehow contribute to a spatial vision. Secondly, how coalescence in spatial planning might resolve multiple knowledges into a type of co-owned knowledge, in other words what type of learning happens. Rather than approaching participation as a governance process this focuses attention how the different voices contribute to shared visions of space.

3.6 Conclusions

This review of current literature around spatial planning has unearthed specific issues for knowledge and public engagement. Many points of synergy were found between participatory and spatial planning theories, as might be expected given their shared post-structural conceptual roots. The two areas diverge in that spatial planning literature develops another layer of concerns around the relational view of space, and that layer is more spatially-focused. Spatial planning contains mental views of space (in the Lefebvrian sense e.g. notions of nodes of activity or cross-boundary networks) for the purposes of spatial governance. These constructs are of interest to this research because they belong to spatial planning but not the wider lay community. A very particular type of 'socio-spatial learning' is depicted, whose legitimacy derives from a need to build shared spatial knowledge and where frames are built around particular spatial factors.

The term spatial planning is contested, but commonly used to signify a planning approach that embraces spatial complexities. Like participatory planning it rejects modernism, which has implications for its approach to space and the knowledge of interest. In most interpretations of spatial planning, space itself is construed as a fluid or dynamic entity. That is to say that space does not exist in stasis but is functioning, live and constantly evolving. Spatial planning is therefore an attempt to steer a dynamic or fluid domain. This appears to result in various integrative rationalities as regard policy domains and spatial functions, and by contrast scalar complexities are unresolved.

The literature has no specific focus on how lay participation relates to the spatial planning approach, however conceptually they appear to be well matched. Many of spatial planning's central references evoke communicative principles in participatory planning. A critical notion is that there are many perspectives on space and different types of approaches to it. Subconscious and communicative factors are integral to the meaning of spaces, and places are by nature contested and plural. Communication and linguistic sensitivities are decisive factors in the balance of any learning dynamic, and particularly so where there are already conflicting approaches to space. Different interpretations of space need to be balanced. Subjective interpretations of 'reality' are credited with having an active role in shaping the material world. Particular care is therefore needed to ensure that 'mental space' or a spatial vision does not overpower 'lived space' or daily life. This suggests that integrative spatial policies ought to learn with local communities and somehow include or incorporate lay knowledge.

The new vision of planning based on complex relations in perpetual flux therefore has several characteristics that are particularly relevant to this study. It takes an integrative approach to space.

Policy-making in ‘silos’ is said to result in poor socio-spatial outcomes, as compared to where the interaction of policy domains is recognised. The thinking is that coordinating domains can reinforce the effectiveness of action in each area through building shared perspectives that read across policy goals and communication that links different objectives. Problems over the boundaries for planning remain and there are also concerns over possible homogenisation effects on planning policy.

Different functions of places highlight the dynamic nature of space. Spatial planning sees space as populated with patterns of use rather than having an ideal end state that can for instance be zoned. A ‘triple bottom line’ is referenced for the impact of spatial patterns where social, economic and environmental benefits are accounted for across an area. Typically this is local or regional and increasingly also international, where spatial planning aims to coordinate regions where patterns and their effects are shared. As with policy domains, there is an integrative rationality about functions in spatial planning.

In addition to joining up policy and coordinating contingent areas, spatial planning appears to be driven by a desire to transcend scalar divisions. Frequently administrative boundaries are called into question as power structures are reworked or re-positioned by planning communities to address perceived asymmetries and complexities. Political concerns surround such objectives, and scalar complexities and divisions will probably be factors in any learning scenario.

Because space is seen to have a holistic character, the actors involved and their networks are fundamental components of spatial planning. Because nodes of activity interact and overlap, communication and collaboration is critical in any collaborative attempt to shape a place or build a spatial plan. Planners are part of a network of actors and it is argued their role must be reflexive.

Knowledge is needed for planning since it is a knowledge based profession, and a particular type of knowledge is needed for spatial planning visions. It is supposedly ‘a-scientific‘, and systems approaches (e.g. modelling) with their cumulative knowledge are considered inadequate. Instead, the required body of knowledge seeks an integrated assessment of what might be termed socio-spatial workings. This can be characterised as an action-oriented mosaic of knowledge, in contrast with definitive answers produced through scientific testing. Such knowledge requires the contribution of diverse groups of actors in a social learning process where the ends and means of learning are one and the same. Communication types are complex, varying according to the culture of the participating group. Communicative success generally depends on the pivotal, ‘knowledge mediating’ role of the planner and the nature of the planning culture, i.e. whether it is inclusionary or not. Understanding space relies on the sharing of different knowledge types. Implicitly lay

knowledge can contribute to a plural and integrated spatial knowledge. It may have an effect on knowledge associated with spatial planning, for example by: widening the scope perspectives on a place; preventing or supporting 'end-state' spatial visions; identifying and understanding cross-policy issues; identifying spatial patterns and understanding their functions; identifying and understanding interaction of scales; creating new spatial 'constituencies'; and encouraging differently configured collaborations.

This chapter considered the aspects of current spatial planning literature, that relate to participatory planning and knowledge. It reinforces the argument for investigating community engagement in spatial planning and provides context for the research questions. This sets the scene for an empirical study of community engagement in spatial planning. Chapter 2 found several secondary research questions and areas for consideration, and chapter 3 has shown the dimensions of spatial planning that will be important to the analysis. In the next chapter the lessons from these theories are fleshed out, and the conceptual framework and specific research questions for the thesis are set out. The methodology, operational details and analytical approach of the empirical study are presented in chapter 4, leaving the rest of the thesis to document the analysis and findings of the work.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the knowledge and learning associated with community engagement in spatial planning. Previous chapters have demonstrated a gap in the theories around community engagement in spatial planning. Specifically, the potential for learning through public engagement in planning is extolled but underexplored. The conclusion from these points is that further study through empirical research will address the dearth of attention given to this area, and this chapter explains the means to such a study. This introductory section restates the general purpose and character of the empirical work and the rest of the chapter describes the methods of the study in detail.

There are four arguments for studying spatial planning with the involvement of lay participants as a learning arena, as examined in chapters 2 and 3. Firstly, there is an inherent tension in theories of both participatory planning and spatial planning, between communicative outcomes and planning outcomes. Secondly, participation is part of the current trend away from concepts of 'structure' but the alternative concepts of 'fluidity' present particular challenges around producing knowledge. Thirdly, learning for the purposes of spatial planning is part of the picture of community engagement but due to theoretical focus on concerns about the misuse of power, it has yet to be assessed in its own right. Fourthly, lessons about local knowledge may have broader implications for policy making, and associated issues of information and communication.

This is then, a study of community engagement and planning knowledge. Given the abstract and contested nature of such subject matter, it is critical that the research grounds the conceptual work and explores the existence of the phenomenon. Firstly, if it is not possible to identify the phenomenon of interest in existing best practice it will be unlikely to exist currently and have little immediate value. Secondly, if it is indeed found to exist in the real world, an empirical study will help substantiate and locate findings about learning through community engagement in planning. A positive case is therefore required.

The research also requires very careful observation of empirical data and particularly rigorous methods. A bespoke methodology is required to examine the knowledge dynamics and the types of learning involved. The methodology and the conceptual framework are tailored to the research subjects. The chosen methods are participatory, i.e. participation is a tool of research and helps improve the quality of the research. Briefly speaking a two part investigation was used, with a wave

of embedded fieldwork and a wave of validation. The researcher was embedded in a case study for over two years to get close to the data and then conducted workshops to test the external validity of findings from the case.

The rest of this chapter sets out the details of the research questions, conceptual framework and selected methods. Section 4.2 problematises the theoretical lacuna and presents it as a subject for further study with specific research questions. Section 4.3 presents a conceptual framework, with topic areas that can be operationalised for the empirical work. Next (4.4) the methodological challenges are set out. Then the research methods that are used are described, for two distinct waves of the research (a case study and a validation work in 4.5 and 4.6 respectively) before the methodological points are drawn together in a final summary (4.7).

4.2 Research questions

Chapters 2 and 3 have shown how recent, post-structural strands of planning theory converge around stakeholder engagement, local empowerment and community knowledge. Concepts of knowledge within community engagement are generally based on explorations of power relations, rather than knowledge per se or knowledge of space, and do not relate to spatial planning specifically. At the same time, many theorists emphasise that there should be a productive relationship between community and planning knowledges. However, there is little specificity around this type of learning, which leads to the current research into community engagement as a learning arena for spatial planning. The enquiry is formulated as two primary research questions and four secondary research questions (box 4.1). This section traces the conceptual background to the research problems, which leads to the primary research questions (PRQ 1 and PRQ 2) and their constituent parts (SRQ 3, SRQ 4, SRQ 5 and SRQ 6). It also offers a new term 'socio-spatial learning' to more succinctly communicate the subject of the research.

Primary research questions:

PRQ 1 Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?
PRQ 2 What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?

Secondary research questions:

SRQ 3 What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?
SRQ 4 What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?
SRQ 5 What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?
SRQ 6 What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved?

Box 4.1: Primary & secondary research questions

A tension remains between 'outcomes' of participation and 'outcomes' of spatial planning. That is to say that participation can be and often is justified on democratic principles alone whereas, in the view of this author, although planning is inherently political it cannot stand on that basis alone. The planning profession has both political and spatial power, or at very least spatial as well as political aspects. Since theoretical literature has not as yet considered in depth the strategic and spatial aspects of collaborating with communities, this research aims to investigate them.

The focus on the spatiality of collaborative planning means that a particular aspect of the role of the planner is of interest. It is the professional aspect of the role, where the planner bases judgments primarily on skills and experience, rather than the political aspect, where advocacy is of greater interest. These aspects co-exist and may be hard to distinguish from each other, but the methodology is designed so as to help identify the aspect of interest. The research is able to focus on planners seeking to learn about space. The characterisation of planners learning is informed by the commentaries about spatial planning (see chapter 3), where planners consider what might be making a whole place 'unhealthy' as well as identifying which areas or individuals within it are disadvantaged. To use a medical analogy, a doctor may be treating one body part but is still seeking to improve the functioning of an entire physiological system and ultimately caring for the 'whole person'. The key distinction is that the planner is learning about constituent parts of space rather than political constituencies.

From the picture of learning, the research seeks to understand whether and how knowledge of space built with communities helps planners make spatial strategy or not. This also draws on a particular understanding of what building spatial plans entails. It acknowledges that particular ways of thinking about space, or 'spatial rationalities', shape planners' thinking and thus feed into planning knowledge and underpin the final decisions of policy makers.

Spatial rationalities are constructed within networks of actors, which are wider than just planners. Rationalities that relate to concepts of space are likely to include notions of place and spatial characteristics of communities. Different actors will have differently framed understandings of space. Spatial planning theories suggest that lay knowledge contains values and rationalities that can be harnessed for spatial planning through community engagement. Participatory planning theory suggests that, under the right conditions, 'other' actors can reframe planners' rationalities.

Community engagement has not as yet been fully theorised as a mode of learning for spatial planning, although lay knowledge is constantly present alongside discourses of planning and power. This is to some extent because most current analyses are focused on concepts of power. Although power and knowledge are connected, they are not the same thing. Knowledge may contain or be used for power, but it is not power itself. The properties of knowledge are that it is highly contextual, produced within networks of people, and built around understandings of causality. Knowledge can be put to purposes of power, but fundamentally it is produced by a search for better understandings of causality. Producing knowledge for planning cannot simply be an exercise in 'empowerment' of any actor, it cannot be a non-descript scientific endeavour and it cannot belong to an a-spatial policy field. The knowledge in spatial planning is very particular. As Healey puts it, "it

is not just any kind of knowledge that is drawn into the process of spatial strategy-making. Strategy with a place focus draws on and draws out conceptions of places, their qualities and their positioning as regards other places and dynamics" (Healey 2007, p.27). Spatial planning may be a means to empowerment and policy making but it is distinguished from other such means by its spatial rationalities.

A critical part of the picture around lay knowledge remains blurred. The role of lay knowledge in making strategic spatial plans is only described loosely, or in relation to process. It is not known for example how lay knowledge relates to the evidence-bases used in professional planning. It is clear from the literature that practice rarely if ever achieves an ideal process of collaboration (as per the communicative rationale). Failure of communities to gain traction for their agendas is mainly attributed to communicative practicalities, such as the lack of ideal speech conditions or inadequate processes. However there is another area of the problem beyond the practicalities. According to social learning theory, information is not simply transferred but rationalities are reframed, and new claims to knowledge are produced. Therefore, we need to also understand participation in terms of the rationalities that exists (SRQ 3), reframing that occurs (SRQ 4). The premise for this work is that, community engagement in spatial planning might have an effect on knowledge of space and social learning may occur. As such, it is interested in *whether* (SRQ 1) *and how* (SRQ 2) lay knowledge reframes spatial rationalities.

Contextual sensitivity is required in a socially informed understanding of the production of knowledge. Chapter 2 has described knowledge associated with participatory planning theory as 'contextual'. 'Spatial planning' is the context of primary interest since, as described in chapter 3, it is the mode of practice which has conceptual synergy with collaborative planning. It is described as rejecting modernist approaches to space and construing space instead as a dynamic entity, which is fluid, functioning, live and constantly being re-worked by society. It has an explicitly integrative approach to space as it tries to respond strategically to evolving patterns. One region may impact on another but be governed separately, and therefore a spatial planning collaboration may effectively be serving a new or unknown constituency to the accepted or established one. Planning authorities whose structures might not reflect the spatial dynamics can adapt by forming strategic, collaborative policy networks. Research into of knowledge in spatial planning must consider the role of spatial elements (SRQ 5) and the policy context (SRQ 6).

Having established that the research will study the spatiality of knowledge in spatial planning networks and a very particular type of learning, a new concept is proposed for the research subject, that of 'socio-spatial learning'. 'Socio-spatial learning' is derived from the term 'social learning', and

is based on the concepts associated with it, in the sense that Wenger has used that term (e.g. Wenger 2000). It combines the basic premise of social learning, i.e. the need to collaborate to build knowledge, with the distinguishing feature of planning, i.e. 'spatiality'. Literature around collaboration in planning has been focused on three areas: communicative processes; conflict resolution; and the power position of the actors. Socio-spatial learning offers a fourth area for exploration, which is particularly relevant to community engagement. This new term can be related back to the literature on participatory planning and spatial planning, as follows.

Socio-spatial learning recognises the relational and communicative aspects of knowledge. As described in chapter 2, participatory planning is in part conceived as a social learning exercise. Participatory planning theories present a relational approach to social order, where society is understood to be 'plural' and the appropriate mode of planning is participatory. This entails a new transactive or communicative approach, which is intended to open up the processes of planning to all stakeholders, particularly to non-planners such as local communities and lay participants.

Socio-spatial learning occurs within networks, including where there is community engagement in spatial planning. Collaborative planning theorists anticipate that communicative action with local stakeholders will empower local communities, and this ambition has contributed to the generation of a wealth of stakeholder engagement exercises. At the same time, there are expectations that knowledge will be produced. Engagement without learning is commonly and derogatively defined as 'token-ist'. The principle of lay participation in policy making is supported by the belief that it can be a means to learning, and in particular a means for spatial planners to learn.

Socio-spatial learning is a process, but it must also be a product that relates to space. Participatory planning theory explicitly conflates communicative processes and their 'product'. It is characteristically focused on the processes of control, and the ensuing power dynamics. Empowerment is commonly assessed through who is involved, how they are involved and their effect on proceedings. Sometimes knowledge appears within such analyses as a factor of empowerment, i.e. where power is determined by who has knowledge of the planning context, processes, actors, technical details and so on. Whilst this is useful for understanding power dynamics it subsumes knowledge and effectively brackets out spatiality. This research hopes to bring those concepts into the foreground. In summary, despite the spatial specificity of planning knowledge, which the literature posits, community engagement theories have remained within a more generalised sphere of governance. This thesis contends that, to complement existing theories, community engagement needs to be examined as learning for spatial planning per se. It follows that the social learning process to be researched, is not an all encompassing education but one that is

specifically intended to strengthen spatial understandings. Hence the research will study 'socio-spatial learning' in the context of community engagement in spatial planning. The next section offers a conceptual framework for this.

4.3 Conceptual framework

Section 4.2 has defined the research subject as socio-spatial learning in the context of community engagement in spatial planning. This section begins by identifying the conceptual elements of the research subject, and then structures them into a framework of topic areas. This conceptual framework serves to strengthen the construct validity of the research. The framework also acts as a pattern against which the empirical data can be matched, following the example of the notable case study methodologist Campbell (e.g. Campbell 1966, Campbell 1975). By following this structure, relevant data for this study can be more reliably recognised. The scope of topic areas is described in conceptual and practical terms.

The conceptual framework has three underlying premises. Firstly, it is built around the expectation that existing norms of participatory practice will shape communication between planners and community actors. Secondly, it assumes that the policy context will feed into any learning that occurs within it. Thirdly, it allows for the possibility that there may be conceptual as well as technical learning about space. A number of basic conceptual elements of the research are identified scoped out from what has been learned about 'spatial planning', 'participation & engagement', 'social learning' and 'socio-spatial learning'. These were explained in the preceding section and are briefly explained below.

Participatory planning is theoretically achieved through meaningful communication between actors and the factors in this are as follows. Strategies for engaging communities (who is involved and how they are involved) can help or hinder achieving a breadth of representation of the local area. Surrounding factors of culture and language also affect depth or meaningful-ness of engagement. Wider contextual factors of governance, such as resourcing, social, political, domestic or international issues, and perceived opportunities, also shape engagement. In particular, the prevailing attitudes around engagement and its purposes may help or hinder the chances of the community to change spatial frames. People in 'lay communities' are non-planners who have a local or lay interest in the plan, either by living in the designated area of the plan or being affected in their daily lives by it. Therefore, several overlapping conceptual elements are identified from participatory planning theory:

- Lay & professional actors
- Means of involvement
- Communication & artefacts
- Culture of engagement
- Stakeholder role

Spatial planning is the formal activity of strategic plan-making normally undertaken by central government or a local government body. Spatial planning recognises multiple perspectives on a place, the overlap of social policy domains, a holistic approach to spatial function and the perception of interconnected scales. It works to continually adapt spatial policy (rather than to achieve a preconceived utopia) and seeks to understand evolving spatial 'constituencies' and collaborations for spatial policy. The conceptual elements related to spatial planning theory are:

- Collaborators
- Stated goals
- Policy areas under consideration
- Spatial subject matter under consideration
- Spatial constituencies
- Scales

Social learning concerns actors' priorities within a policy making arena. It is conceptual learning, which is driven by sharing values and must be distinguished from instrumental or technical learning (e.g. acquiring facts or skill sets). Actors' understandings of problems, rationalities and arguments should change or adapt in contrast to technical learning where their 'frames' would remain fixed. Conceptual elements from social learning theory are:

- Shared values
- A variety of rationalities

Socio-spatial learning is specifically concerned with spatial values, and sharing values in order to develop spatial planning strategies. As described in the previous section spatial rationalities are informed by approaches to space, attitudes towards spatial governance and values associated with these.

- Approaches to space
- Views on spatial governance

These conceptual elements form the basis of the framework and inform the present understanding of how socio-spatial learning might be present in a positive case of community engagement in spatial planning. As shown in the diagram below (4.1), they relate to six topic areas: shared planning subjects, actors & scales; policy domains; community engagement; planning evidence; and major issues. In the text following the diagram, these topics areas are explained in a little more detail.

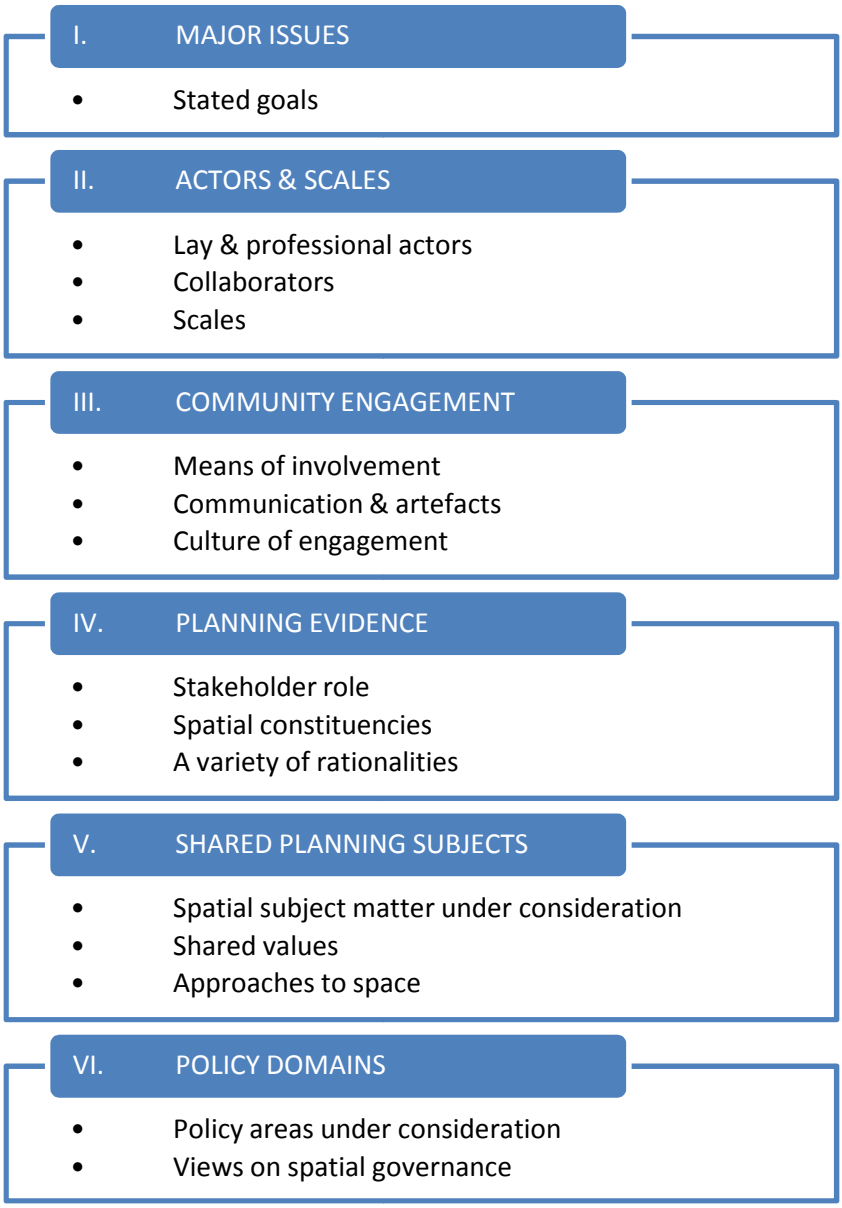


Diagram 4.1: Conceptual framework, elements of social spatial learning by topic

For each of these topics of social-spatial learning, areas of particular enquiry related to the synergies between collaborative planning and spatial planning theories, which strengthen the framework, are highlighted in the description below. As explained earlier, the research subject must be comprehensible in practical terms and so each topic is also described in practical terms in order to help understand how it may be manifest in the 'real world' (and not in order to delineate sources of data).

The first topic area is perspectives on major issues. In real terms, perspectives on major issues might for example be seen in the overarching policy direction or attitude towards it. They might also be

manifest in major land uses, 'hard' politically difficult or choices or trade-offs between social impacts. A socio-spatial learning may contain 'scientific proof' and 'policy evidence' but, as discussed in chapter 2, primarily concerns the (re)constitution of values within a group. Outlooks on major issues are therefore critical and changes in outlook may signal when conceptual learning has occurred.

The second topic is actors involved and scales they represent. It is focused on the spatial values and relative scalar positions of actors. The role of planners in relation to lay actors said to be complex and in flux, and scales intrinsically connected. The involvement of local communities into higher order planning means there will be multiple scales. Therefore the scalar nature of networks and the individual actors' spatial values will both inform the topic. In practical terms the characteristics of actors, the configuration of relationships and communities' scalar priorities indicate 'spatial values'. Actors' views on spatial policies and the likely impacts of a strategy, and changes to those views, will clearly be central to any learning.

Topic area three is community engagement. In practical terms this involves actors and networks of any participatory processes, as well as the nature of the processes and any contextual elements, which are known to support or detract from such interactions. They include cultural and practical elements of engagement. Participatory modes are central, as are the reasons for their selection and the way in which they are managed. The dominant cultures or typical experiences of engagement and local, regional and even national political discourses may be included as factors here.

Topic area four is the planning evidence involved in community engagement in spatial planning. As discussed earlier, spatial planning will have a variety of rationalities and approaches to establishing knowledge. In particular, evidence-giving is implicit in the notion of a stakeholder role and spatial constituencies provide boundaries around the relevance of evidence. Planning evidence may derive directly from community input or it may include, different definitions of relevant evidence for instance across environmental, social, economic, trend data. Rationalities may derive from particular strategies or policies and be manifest in the projections, analyses and reports on the area that are used. In real terms, the types, volume, completeness, sources, relevance, access, checks and controls on data are all part of this topic.

The fifth topic area concerns the subjects of communication between actors or 'shared planning subjects'. These are the practical points which spark or shape dialogue, and enable collaboration. They are literal rather than symbolic but if they are supported by a language and communicative artefacts they will also convey values, thus enabling social learning. Shared planning subjects may

surround any issue actors related to the planning task - transport, housing, retail, leisure, current trends or predications, existing issues or aspirations, impacts, benefits, losses, trade-offs within spatial plans – if an understanding of it is shared by the group.

The sixth topic area is the range of policy domains. Spatial planning literature makes the case that there are spatial elements across the full range of social policies, health for example is dependent on living environment and social infrastructure must be planned. So, the breadth of policy domains is important as is the co-ordination of policy domains. More practically this topic may include views about policy areas, for example what are considered relevant to spatial policy. Likewise, the impacts of spatial policy may be seen as falling under different social policy areas.

Socio-spatial learning is being studied on the basis that spatial planning knowledge may be reworked upon community engagement, and the conceptual framework in diagram 4.1 has been designed for this research. To summarise, concepts of spatial planning, participation, engagement and social learning overarch the framework. The conceptual elements emerged from the literature explored in chapters 2 and 3, and they are consolidated into a framework of six topic areas. It represents a configuration of socio-spatial learning with communities in non-tokenist community engagement, which holds promise for the production of knowledge for spatial planning. The topic areas lend themselves readily to data collection, providing a suitable framework for the empirical study, to which data can be compared.

4.4 Study requirements

Having operationalised the research subject with a series of questions and created a structured framework, particular challenges are apparent. This section considers the requirements that informed the design of the study as it responded to those challenges. It explains the modes of study (research methods, means of data collection, data management techniques, and analytical approach) and reasons behind their use. It also clarifies the shortcomings of the chosen modes of study, and how these were addressed.

A detailed picture of community engagement in spatial planning was required to show any forces at work in socio-spatial learning. The case study was chosen as the most appropriate research method, since it could give a full picture of the phenomenon of interest. This method is said to enable exploration of a phenomenon, with detailed and layered data (e.g. Yin 2009).

A full real-life example of community engagement and planning knowledge was sought, and this needed purposive selection. The subject of *learning* suggested that a complete program of work should be examined, rather than any one or two elements of a planning episode. A successful case was needed to illustrate and explore the phenomenon of engagement, rather than token-ist consultation or similar. It needed to include dialogue between planners and lay participants rather than simply information exchange. Therefore a positive case was purposively selected from several possible options, as shown in appendix A. The case actually selected, and its match to the selection criteria is explained in section 4.5.

The case study needed to garner accurate data on a very abstract topic, and so the embedded case study mode was chosen. Plenty of detail needed to be built up, and embedding can help with this. More importantly embedding is needed to get close enough to study *knowledge*. As section 2.4 suggests, the researcher could only obtain valid data if she was part of the community of practice. Frames of actors would be tacit and only brought to light through close observation of the live context of their practice. Likewise, in order to comprehend *learning* it would be necessary to be part of it, for example by attending and contributing to debates, events and meetings, rather than passively observing them or scrutinising materials from them at a distance. Policy documents, records and accounts of events are also necessary data, but better understood through being embedded in the case. Through participation in a case a researcher can experience the context and thus more accurately interpret references within case materials. This also means that embedded field notes, observations and recording of the case are particularly important research data.

While case study methodology is appropriate to the complex nature of the subject matter and participant observation allows for in-depth, in situ observation of experiences, this design has its own particular weaknesses. Although validity of the data and analysis of case materials (e.g. interpretations of symbolic language) are supported by the proximity of the author, there is a risk of subjectivity, and particularly in an embedded case. In order to overcome potential subjectivity, triangulation is recommended (e.g. Hakim 1997) through the use of multiple, varied data sources. This advice was followed: all case interactions were recorded, including meetings, independent work associated with the case etc.; every iteration of drafting was brought into the dataset; and all data was recorded wherever possible in multiple ways. Wherever possible, audio and visual recordings, i.e. as well as written field notes, were taken. Details of the eventual case data are given in section 4.5.

Data management needed to be extremely rigorous, given the volume and variety of data involved. In lengthy qualitative fieldwork, data must be recorded, carefully stored and systematised, in order to navigate it successfully at later stages. In particular, researcher notes must be distinct from other case material, so that they can be treated differently. This is particularly important where the researcher is both participating in the process and observing it for research purposes. Records must be labelled with recognisable names and dates, and properly catalogued so that they can be easily browsed. The best means of doing this was through the use of electronic software that could reliably manage the data, to track and catalogue all the material. Atlas-TI was selected mainly because of its comprehensive functionality, which can deal with all types of electronic material. It also had very strong functions that helped with the analysis, which are described in section 4.5.

The thick data, and careful management and analysis of it, produced internally reliable findings, but further testing was needed for generalisability. Findings from any case study can be context specific rather than 'universally' generalisable (i.e. as is possible with quantitative methods), and especially so with a single case. With appropriate case selection the case study mode can allow for theoretical generalisations of the individual phenomenon but further verification is required in order to understand whether findings hold true outside the specific context of the case being studied. External validity therefore needs to be investigated, to build confidence in the case study findings and learn how they might or might not apply elsewhere. Often this is done with comparative cases but due to the richness of data that was required for this study, and the extra time that would consequently have been needed, a second case was not feasible.

Findings from the single case of community engagement in spatial planning might not have had validity outside of that particular case. It could either be an unusual case in itself with a strong,

unique property or it might omit an important factor of the more general phenomenon that had not been unaccounted for in the research design. This meant that the findings needed strong external verification. To that end, a second 'validation wave' was built into the research design. It involved the participation of planners from across England. They reflected on the findings and took part in a practical exercise that was created by the researcher to test findings (details in section 4.6). This testing provided an alternative setting as a check on external validity as described in chapter 9.

As a researcher I had to adapt the methods to fit the reality of the circumstances in which I was operating, therefore the final consideration affecting all of the design choices was viability of conducting the work. Fieldwork of this depth needed to be well underway by the middle of the available time. As shown in the diagram below (4.2) the research was undertaken between 2009 and 2011. The programme of planning work began in 2008 with the adoption of a core strategy, from which point a core strategy review was set in motion. The main community engagement stage of the review was conducted in early 2011, at which point the case was complete. Validation work was completed shortly afterwards. The amount of time required for the embedding, precluded a second case, which in turn stimulated the creation of an original approach to validation that could be added as a second research wave. The embedding began in early 2009, so some retrospective data had to be included. More crucially, the entire case study period had to be managed in distinct stages that could lend themselves to analysis of change, i.e. before and during community engagement. This issue is further explained in the next section.

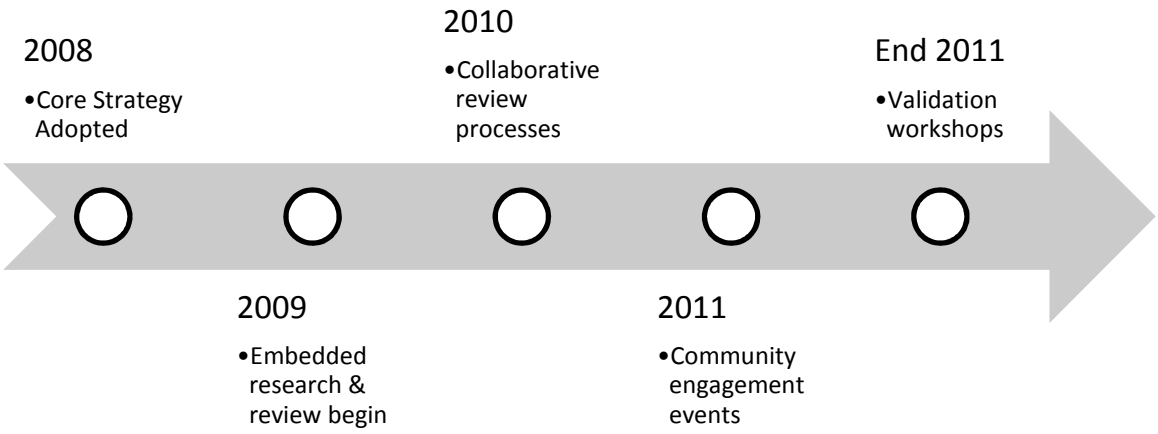


Diagram 4.2: Research timeline

Having settled on an approach to the research, there were certain points about my positionality that I needed to reflect on. Being embedded had some personal implications, as already discussed, but further to those, there was the issue of my own identity and its relationship to the context being studied. I knew the actors in the case very well having worked with many of them prior to starting

the research and my previous work on community engagement in planning practice was known to them. This provided a useful starting point for introducing the research to the group, and the trust that existed helped the planners to accept my request. In fact there was no resistance to the idea of being studied, although as explained in section 4.3 interviewing proved impossible. Initially, my positionality was useful as it provided excellent access to the case study. However, it was important that I should not be held to any expectations and be open to learning. As well as being aware of the initial identity I had within the context, it was important to continue to be reflexive throughout the fieldwork.

My own learning would be part of the learning in the case, and a means to understanding knowledge production, but this raised concerns about data proximity or limits, and about research ethics. In addition to my research objectives I had duties related to the planning work. I was conscious that I should not hinder the planners in their work or neglect the tasks I had been given. If I or others adapted our work to 'improve' results this would affect the research but it would also not be correct to give the research more importance than the work, so I needed to be careful that my research did not affect how I or others were working. To deal with those concerns I took an explicitly 'professional first' approach to the research, which had four principles and applied equally to both wave. Firstly it entailed making records of my work as per usual but with more detail of what I could glean of my actors thought processes, i.e. recording fuller discussions through 'touch typing'[1], with exact phrasing wherever possible and emotional responses as well as 'action points'. Secondly I recorded thoughts on the research as unobtrusively as possible, i.e. mainly directly afterwards and only noting the most important research insights 'on the job' in a typed note. Thirdly I used audio recording devices and photography liberally to help reflect afterwards rather than during the processes. Fourthly I passed on any ideas arising from the research which could help practice. In this was I sought to keep my research activities suitably distanced from, and my attention adequately focused on the planning work.

To summarise, the research subject required an embedded case study. A complete, close-up, in-depth, well managed, dataset was compiled for each stage of the case study, as described in the following sections. Data was carefully analysed, and the findings tested in a separated exercise. All choices in the research design were steered mainly by the criteria of accuracy and validity, but efficiency and practicality also played a part. One of the main requirements for the study was that it needed to be conducted in two complementary parts - a case study and a validation wave.

[1] I can type mostly without looking at the screen, but this is not one of my professional skills so, even though autocorrect does some cleaning, and I still have to edit my so-called touch typed notes post-hoc, which I generally did on the day of taking the notes and before uploading them to Atlas-TI.

Throughout the work I was a professional first, and made constant reflexive notes in tandem with my work. This section has outlined the principles behind the methods; the specific designs of the case study and validation waves are explained separately in the next two sections.

4.5 The case study

Having set out the principles underlying the selection of the embedded case study mode in the previous section, this section gives details of the case study design and how fieldwork and analysis were conducted, including details of the types of data that was collected and how it was managed. It describes how the case fits the sampling selection criteria in more detail, and the approach to managing and analysing the case data. The researcher found a case which had a good match to the selection and feasibility criteria (box 4.2), the *North Northamptonshire Core Strategy Review*. Once work had started the case had to be extremely well managed, not only because the volume of data was likely to be large but also for rigorous and iterative analysis. These elements design evolved in response to the case, and steered by the researcher in such a way as to support the analysis. The case study design was therefore an on-going process at the start of the field work, and the following text is a summary of the management decisions taken at that time.

SAMPLING CRITERIA

A. Location & Timing: Near to researcher's location, or able to travel to the site

B. Access to embedded data: Ability to embed within the planning team

1 Major Issues: Possibility of observing reframing

2 Actors & Scale: Variety of actors and scales

3 Community engagement: Must include involvement of local non-planners, ideally face-to-face

4 Planning evidence: Likely to represent planning work as well as community engagement

5 Shared planning subjects: Good depth of topic, i.e. not focused on site-specific permissions

6 Policy domains: Likely to have breadth of subject areas, i.e. not 'single issue'

Box 4.2: Conceptual & practical selection criteria

The sampling criteria for the case selection comprised both feasibility ad conceptual components. Each criterion was essential and so the selected case would need to conform to each one. It would need to have appropriate location and timing. That is to say that the researcher would need to be able to reach it easily enough and it would need to fall within the timeframe of the research. There would need to be a high possibility that the researcher could embed within the work. The case should offer the opportunity to observe the conceptual elements. Firstly, there should be major issues at stake. If there were no controversial development or little contest around the values, there might not be reframing for that reason. Secondly, it would need to involve a variety of actors and scales. That would increase the potential for diverse spatial values. Thirdly, there would need to be significant community engagement, with low risk of tokenism. Fourthly, it would need to provide ample planning evidence, as defined earlier. Fifthly, in order to have relevance to spatial planning

the subjects would need to be complex spatial planning policy issues not one-off or narrowly defined site-specific issues. Sixthly, it should offer the possibility of involving a variety of policy areas, rather than being premised on one particular development issue e.g. heritage or conservation.

A 'critical case' was purposively selected to give a potentially rich seam of data. The single case was selected based on the criteria from the conceptual framework. Difference cases were considered from amongst a range of planning work and the North Northamptonshire case was preferred. The timing coincided well with PhD schedule. At this time the North Northamptonshire Joint Planning Unit for the sub-region was collaborating for a review of its existing core strategy, and deeper community engagement was a particular aim. Because of existing professional relationships, the researcher was easily embedded in the spatial planning work and could therefore observe the whole case from the outset and throughout. Based on observations of the core actors in the case, it seemed likely that planners would genuinely seek to learning with the community and grant full 'access' to the data required for the research.

As well as being practically feasible, the case seemed to be targeted at reassessing existing perspectives on major issues. The Core Strategy adopted in 2008 for the sub-region provided the strategic spatial plan up to 2021, involving a wide range of issues many of which had the potential to be controversial. Given the formal 'review' status it was anticipated that issues could be raise with the potential to change or at least challenge the frames of the actors.

The breadth of actors & scales that would be involved in the review also fit the research criteria. The local planning authorities took an explicitly collaborative approach jointly funding spatial strategy making and community engagement. The towns of Corby, Kettering, Wellingborough and their surrounding villages and rural area, make up the sub-region of North Northamptonshire. The borough councils there were planning for their joint area. Their work was collaborative not only within the sub-region but also across the wider area e.g. dynamics with Leicester, Milton Keynes, Northampton. Intensive community engagement was also scheduled and a stated aim of the planning group. As a core strategy, it would involve significant work and thus provide the opportunity to study planning evidence. The review already appeared to have a variety of shared planning subjects around population growth and competitiveness within the wider region. North Northamptonshire was designated a 'growth area' in the Milton Keynes & South Midlands Regional Spatial Strategy (CLG 2009). The subjects were not site specific. Similarly, it was likely that there would also be a good range of policy domains. Although the work might be focused on the dominant 'challenge' of growth that subject could have broad applicability.

Given the complexity of the case, a full chapter (chapter 5) is given over to introducing it, but in order to explain the approach to analysis a few points are noted, as follows. The review of the core spatial strategy of 2008 was a collaborative undertaking that involved a wide range of actors and modes of participation. Formal and informal layers of the process emerged but most of the activities were coordinated through a 'joint planning unit', where the researcher was embedded. Most actors lived or worked in North Northamptonshire but the wider group was drawn from across Northamptonshire and further afield. Communication between the actors was sustained over the period and took various forms as different people were involved in different elements of the review. In particular, the local residents of North Northamptonshire were directly involved through a road show in the spring of 2011. Details of the planning work involved will be given in later chapters, but here it is important to note that the researcher had direct communication with all actors.

The case was an ongoing process but for clarity and analysis it has been broken down into discreet time periods or stages. The diagram below (4.3) shows four stages, and each one represents a purposive iteration in the review. Stages 1 to 3 are the focus of this study: stage 1 is setting up the review process; stage 2 is developing a shared understanding of North Northamptonshire's development issues in a collaboration of professionals who are preparing draft options for wider engagement; stage 3 is direct public engagement by the JPU. The final stage 4 is shown below for completeness, but since it concerns the final submission process it is not included in the present research.

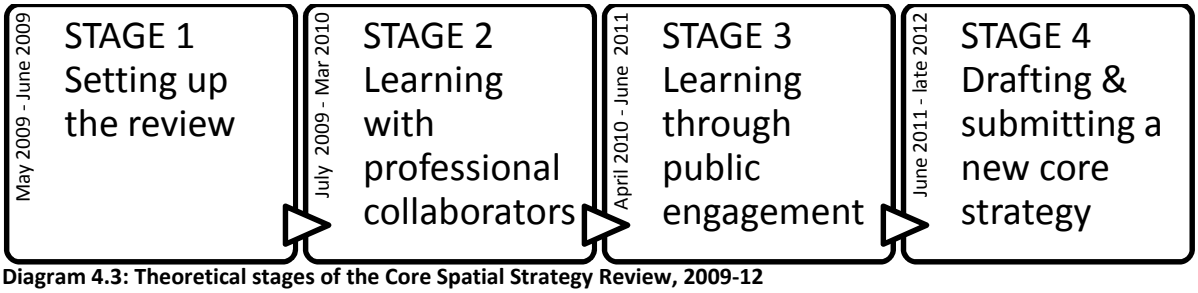


Diagram 4.3: Theoretical stages of the Core Spatial Strategy Review, 2009-12

The case has a two year timeframe running from May 2009 through to the summer of 2011, with the actual submission of a proposed new core strategy likely to be in late 2012. Chapter 5 deals with stage 1 and stages 2 and 3 are covered by chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Critical dates and events for stages 1 to 3 are shown in box 4.3 below.

Key dates, 2009-2011

Stage 1 May 2009 - June 2009: the period of establishing tasks and human resourcing for the project, culminating in a briefing for contractors on 24th June 2009.

Stage 2 July 2009 - March 2010: the work on the review commences with preparations for the 1st workshop (23-25th Sept 2009) and the 2nd workshop (16-18th Mar 2010).

Stage 3 April 2010 – June 2011: uncertainty around change in government, followed by direct public engagement throughout Feb 2011 & a reporting period for a meeting on 23rd June 2011.

Box 4.3: Dates of the key events in the case study

Data access in this case means not only being able to observe but also *creative* participation as an accepted team member. In the event, the researcher was given the official position of 'review project team member' and encouraged to attend and contribute to meetings, as well as undertaking the expected operational duties that would normally have been contracted: conducting desk research, contributing to the design of the workshop, and helping to facilitate at the collaborative events. Although the researcher's involvement was originally on a contract basis, the work associated with the community engagement was conducted on a pro-bono basis in order to remove any ethical concerns. This also allowed the researcher's contribution to the programme of work to grow, as there was no pressure to abide by any limits of an agreed contractual schedule. The planners always intended to encourage public participation as an element in the review, however the researcher sought to promote it too, helping design 'best practice' outreach and encouraging reflection on progress. Nonetheless all decisions relating to the community engagement were taken by the planners. As a practical demonstration of the general approval of the researcher's contributions, the planners (for example) offered to cover the researcher's expenses.

As noted already, large volumes of case data would be needed to consider in-depth the phenomenon of community engagement in spatial planning. Detailed data was collected, as the authenticity of the study depended on thorough contextual knowledge. In addition, triangulation from different sources was important for construct validity and reflexivity. A wide range of evidence forms were therefore necessary and as many sources were used as possible to counter potential bias. Rigorous collection of data was undertaken over two years and Atlas TI was used to systematically order them. See section 4.4 for more on those points. Analysis was ongoing throughout the collection, with iterative steps of recording, collating and triangulating, within the stages described above.

In practice data included both archive and field records (listed in box 4.4). Over the three stages, data came from archive material (e.g. formal reports, policy documents or national datasets), participant observer notes (e.g. handwritten observations, photos or video recordings), and relevant working documents (e.g. minutes of meetings, sketched maps or reports on review tasks). Interviews

were attempted but proved impossible as the interviewees tended strongly towards 'satisficing' (Krosnick et. al. 1996). Probably due to the strong relationship with the researcher, they were often confirming or assuming common understandings rather than provide further insights. Personal notes were taken by the author, and notes taken by other organisers and participants were also used. There was a broad remit of tasks for the review, some of this was conducted within the planning unit and much of it was conducted externally. Citations taken from all records are anonymised and extracts are appended, but wherever possible the documentation is fully cited and referenced.

Stage 1 data includes archive material and field notes on a series of meetings and documents related to contracts and project set up. Stage 2 data is a vast array of material from the many different elements of spatial planning work and field records. Materials produced by planners and collaborators during their work are included alongside research notes and records. This tranche of research data included: research notes as well as documentation from two workshops; minutes of project and steering group meetings; photographs and hand drawn visuals; draft work and final reports from the JPU; output from workshops with rural collaborators and individual face-to-face meetings with local councilors; as well as records of technical work about developing data and visual material. Stage 3 data covers meetings and preparation work, as well as the community engagement work. It centres on notes from attendance at the roadshow, across the core towns and the rural areas. Embedded notes were particularly critical to this dataset as they gave direct experience of the culture of engagement, and the researcher attended an event in each local authority area, including rural areas and towns. For logistical reasons, it was not possible for the researcher to attend every event, but the compiled notes from across the team gave data from each event and some triangulation of the researcher's embedded notes. All community citations are anonymised to prevent identification of individuals and in some cases also concealing location, e.g. a housing estate.

Case study data

- planning policy documents
- literature on the context of community planning and spatial planning cultures
- local planning, development and other policy documents associated with the case
- photos, notes, audio recordings etc. of all meetings
- handouts, visuals and working documents used during events
- evidence sources such as reports, studies of the area, data, maps etc.
- records of communication such as emails and notes of conference calls
- informal sources of data related to and referenced by the spatial planning network e.g. media coverage, responses to viral marketing

Box 4.4: Summary of types of data collected from all stages of the case study

Atlas-TI was used as it is able to embed videos, audio, graphics, acrobat documents within one WYSIWIG GUI, i.e. digital interface. Data was filed using the software and a series of hermeneutic units, i.e. conceptually ordered compilations of selected data, were created. Data was also coded, with labels that could easily be tracked and analysed. Each item of data was coded manually, with a 'super code' derived from the conceptual framework, and as material was re-visited, significant quotes and images were also codified in a more grounded way, with 'line-by-line' coding. This was important for instance in building an empirical set of 'shared spatial planning subjects'.

Atlas-TI facilitates analysis through coding functionalities. The software helps by easily displaying the density of code, i.e. the number of supporting quotations and therefore the strength of the code itself. It allows quotations for each code to be browsed. Trees or networks of codes can also be built, and these can be analysed for relationships, whether associative, contradictory, hierarchical or logical. Such relationships can also build 'families' of material, i.e. new grounded hermeneutic sub-units for analysis. This was particularly important for example in analysing the interaction of policy domains.

Having Atlas-TI also allowed data management to be memo-ised 'on-the fly' to leverage the embedded position. This means that a memo was applied to the data as it was coded, and very soon after the embedded experience. As data was collected, it was meticulously filed and backed-up, and each item was instantly given both a code and a memo, recording the impressions of the coding at that point. The six research topics (diagram 4.1) were used as codes and the memo recorded the reasons for giving the code to it. This system provided an instant structure to the dataset, which would otherwise have been unwieldy and opaque, and provided the means to record reflections on the experience of being embedded.

Analysis began with a preliminary scan of these codes, and further memo-isation (sometimes commenting on the initial memos). Chapters 5 to 7 in effect trace the codes as they develop through the period of the case study. Observations e.g. about where adjustment was or was not needed, produced further memos, explaining any important interpretations or inferences about the re-coding. This allowed the research to accurately track the development of coding from the conceptual framework. Over the years of on-the fly memorising, expanded 'meta-coding' emerged based on the six parts of the conceptual framework, giving a structure whereby, data, memos and codes were easily compiled within hermeneutic units, which could be revisited iteratively throughout the fieldwork. In addition to the six research topics, other 'meta's emerged, which cross-cut research topics, such as 'stated purpose of planning task' or 'initial source of research data'. There was also a distinct period of focused community engagement, which enabled case study data

to be split into two parts: data with (chapter 7) and without (chapter 6) community involvement. This was critical for the analysis.

The choice for continuous case study analysis was a pragmatic one that provided structure, but it was not too rigid as it allowed iterations of analysis. Once a hermeneutic unit appeared saturated, it was systematically sub-coded using the conceptual framework, and then reviewed. As can occur in such processes, further codes suggested themselves from the data. New codes were matched against the socio-spatial learning framework. Some of these supported and fleshed out the original codes, as they created dense evidence for the existence of these elements in the case. Others lent credence to tentative answers to the research questions, as they emerged in a 'grounded' way from the data but ultimately validated the original code frame. For example, the term 'total place' was used by actors and initially applied as a new code, but later merged partly with the meta-code of cross-policy and partly with some other sub-codes. New codes were also mapped independently of the framework, in code families, to see whether any new hypotheses could be created, i.e. about types of actors, scales, domains, etc.. Patterns were compared to the conceptual framework.

In summary, the case provided two years of collection of in-depth embedded data, which was carefully managed in distinct stages. Coding was completed manually for all data, and many of the functions of Atlas-TI were extremely helpful for analysis. The analysis used pattern matching to the conceptual framework, and grounded analysis within conceptual elements. The chain of case study data and analysis evidence is presented in chapters 5-7 and the findings are synthesised in chapter 8.

4.6 The validation work

To complement the single embedded case study, a wave of validation was conducted. This was important in order to establish the external validity of the case study findings and chapter 9 gives an account of the validation work and what it found. Validation was needed to help establish objectivity, since the researcher was highly situated and may have overly related to the actors in the case. More importantly it was required to test the external validity and generalisability of the case study findings. Briefly speaking, an event was designed where the results of the research could be replicated. The event was repeated in the form of three workshops at the end of 2011. Briefly, case study findings were presented to a wider community of planners in England who were then asked to take part in an exercise that could be observed. This section explains in more detail the purpose, format, and content of these validation workshops.

The results of analysis of the embedded data hold interest in themselves but the findings need further work to substantiate a wider significance. Potential comparison cases had been discussed but it proved practically impossible to have a comparison case within the given time. The case study was the first step in examining the contribution of local knowledge to spatial planning and associated learning. Contextual factors of the particular case such as the processes and practice of the collaboration might have confounded generalisability. The influence of the governance culture and the capabilities of the North Northamptonshire actors could have had an effect on knowledge dynamics, such that the findings would only apply to that case or similar cases. For instance it appeared that the engagement and participatory practices of the NNJPU and its collaborators promoted learning from the community. Known contextual factors were in themselves not problematic, but could be further verified through validation. More importantly, there could be other more obscure factors which could influence the research results.

Validation workshops provided the opportunity to share as well as test the findings. The practitioner workshops provided a new working context in which to validate the findings. Planning reforms and interactive exercises offered the new context for validation. The workshop introduced a new set of actors with new working practices. Over the course of three half-day events a wide range of planner ‘types’ participated. In total 29 planners attended including, architects, planning academics, community advisory specialists, planning consultants, planning officers working directly in local government organisations, and representatives of national conservation institutions.

It was considered good practice to deliberate the findings with practitioners, in line with the participatory principles underpinning the work and also because the findings appeared to have implications for planning practice. The workshop itself was designed as a learning exercise for spatial

planning practice, in keeping with the action-based research methodology and theoretical basis of social learning. Invitees were sent a short description of the event (appendix B). It was also intended to be a reciprocal arrangement which benefitted planners directly. It was designed so as to give attendees training about the recent Localism planning reforms[2] and deliberate their implications. The exercise in which they participated was a platform for such deliberations, and in turn also provided research data. It was fully funded by the researcher, with in kind support from the three organisations who provided venues free of charge[3].

The case study findings were scrutinised though the workshops particularly for:

- interpretation of the characteristics of local knowledge
- perceived knowledge dynamics
- any significant contextual factors

The workshops were designed to allow examination of these points through interactive exercises. The idea of 'knowledge dynamics' was presented to the practitioners in a practical way with a presentation caricaturing 'local' and 'strategic' perspectives. The main part of the workshop was a practical exercise for participants. Plenary discussions and feedback on the group activity served at the same time to assess the reforms and to evaluate the research findings.

After the presentation, plenary discussions were encouraged around two points, using the example of the new 'Localist' engagement mechanisms as a platform for debate. Firstly, attendees were asked to reflect on the local actors influencing planning decisions implying the use of local knowledge. Secondly, they were encouraged to reflect on community involvement in reworking strategy. The arguments were used to aid the validation. They also set the scene for group activities, in effect priming the group to demonstrate 'positive community engagement' with the exercise.

Working in groups, they took quotations from the North Northamptonshire community engagement they attempted to work up spatial strategy using the local knowledge. They were given worksheets with a set of questions to guide them and also several copies of a map of the North Northamptonshire sub-region (slide 4.1 below gives an overview). As well as being a learning

[2] At the time of the workshops, a new governance context was emerging through the major reforms to the planning system. The new system removed the regional tier of planning and introduced a new layer of plan-making at a level subsidiary to the Local Authority scale. At the point of the first workshop, the bill was still passing through the final stages of parliamentary hearing and public consultations. It was given royal assent on the 15th November 2011 becoming the Localism Act. The workshop opened with a presentation on the implications of the reforms for community engagement in spatial planning and community empowerment generally.

[3] The TCPA, the University of Birmingham's Centre for Urban and Regional Studies and the University of Manchester's Centre for Urban and Regional Ecology.

exercise, the worksheet and maps allowed a practical application of the findings and self-recorded accounts of the group work. These materials also fed into the analysis.

Attendees closely examined quotations, which represented local knowledge. These were the stated priorities of a variety of settlements, including the larger towns as well as many small villages. Participants in the exercises assumed the role of 'spatial planner', by considering the relevance of quotations to spatial planning and suggesting policy responses. They were asked to respond to the local issues as they appeared within the quotations and to think about involving policy partners in their strategies. In total, forty-five participants working in groups of between two and five completed thirty separate exercises.

The work conducted by the participants was self-recorded and discussed in plenary sessions directly afterwards. The self-recorded responses to the community quotations are listed in appendix C, with alphanumeric identifiers to help preserve anonymity. Worksheets were the focus of the analysis, but the associated mapping and recorded discussions are an important additional check on the interpretations of the self-recorded data. The feedback sheets contained community quotations and asked the working groups to state: the main issue; a policy response; areas affected by the issue; and potential collaborators. The maps were used to varying extents for different purposes, which included: communication within the group; interpretation of the areas that were affected by an issue; and visual representation of policy responses to the community quotations. Such observations also feed into the validation work, as reported in chapter 9.

In the exercises, participants reflected on the quotations, encouraged specifically to view them as local knowledge that could be used for planning. At the same time they were producing their own suggestions for spatial policy and discussing in groups. Planners demonstrated their own understanding of the character and spatiality of local knowledge and their reading of it in terms of producing spatial strategy. This produced validation data that was systematically assessed for a match with, or contradiction of, the findings from the case study. It also allowed closer observation of lay and planning knowledges than had previously been possible and in some instances refinements were added to the initial observations (i.e. where they were not falsified).

The presentations and the practical exercises were discussed as a group in plenary feedback sessions, and taped recordings and output from the exercises were analysed after the workshop. The discussions were analysed to re-assess the findings at a distance from the context of the core strategy review. This validation work was very valuable and put the case study findings on firm ground, with evidence of objectivity and wider generalisability, as discussed in chapter 9.

Slide 4.1: Researcher's slide, showing questions and map used in workshop exercises

4.7 Summary

This section has given methodological and operational details of the research into community engagement in spatial planning. It described how the background conceptual work from chapters 2 and 3 was worked up into a comprehensive framework, which described a normative pattern of socio-spatial learning, and identified research questions that could be posed. It further explained the transformation of the framework into a set of research topics, and the approach taken to answering the questions. Finally it described the logic of the fieldwork and analysis.

Theories of participatory and spatial planning are related and can be overlaid as demonstrated in section 4.2. This gives a framework of synergistic concepts of spatial planning, participation, community engagement, social learning, and a newly defined area of 'socio-spatial learning'. Those concepts are structured into to six topic areas: major issues; actors and scales; community engagement; planning evidence; shared planning subjects; and policy domains. These practical topics are operationalisable for fieldwork.

The overarching design choices were taken on the basis of reliability, validity, and practical feasibility. They were also informed by the desire to select a conceptual framework that could be primarily participatory and deliberative. The specific methods of the case study and the validation wave were also selected on the basis conceptual fit with the research topic itself (i.e. as well as practical and ethical considerations). Participation and constructive knowledge were part of the methods. This makes for a holistic methodology, where the principles underlying the research are consistent.

A single embedded case study of community engagement in spatial planning was chosen: the North Northamptonshire Core Strategy Review. This case had a good match to the research topics and was practically feasible. The case selected was large and complex but, having determined the scope of the topics, the data was sharp. Use of software helped make the analysis rigorous. The case is introduced in chapter 5, which describes the set up of the review. Analyses of the case study before and after community engagement are summarised in chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

The case study findings are synthesised in chapter 8 and were fed into the validation work, by being used for the validation workshops. At three workshops the researcher presented tentative findings to planning practitioners for consideration. The practitioners then took part in interactive exercises mirroring the case study processes, producing data to testing that could be used to test the findings. Chapter 9 describes the results of this testing and the implications for the case study findings,

leading up to chapter 10, which returns to reflect on the whole process and answer the research questions.

Chapter 5: Introduction to the case study

5.1 The North Northamptonshire core strategy review

This chapter outlines the selected case of collaborative spatial planning, which is the Review of the 2008 Core Spatial Strategy for North Northamptonshire. The 'review' aimed to revise a 20 year spatial strategy for the contiguous local authority areas of four boroughs in England. In practical terms, the research case comprises all of the review work between mid-2009 and mid-2011. During those two years several intensive periods of planning activities were organised by a cross-borough planning authority called the North Northamptonshire Joint Planning Unit (JPU). The JPU was established in 2004 to re-develop the strategic vision for North Northamptonshire and the researcher was embedded from 2009 onwards. In the next two chapters, the spatial planning and community engagement aspects of the review are described. Given the substantive nature of the case, this chapter sets out the basic elements of the review according to the six parts of the conceptual framework.

As well as giving a descriptive account of the case structure, this chapter provides a starting point for tracing the evolution of collaborative spatial planning and community engagement. It begins by outlining the basic features of the case, and then sets out the six conceptual elements. The attributes of each conceptual element are established, giving a picture of the case at the start of the review period, i.e. before the period of participatory review work, and describing the intended processes and various important common understandings.

The Core Spatial Strategy for North Northamptonshire, referred to as 'core strategy' from now on, sets out the direction of development and is the primary statutory planning document for the area. Core strategies are described as strategic, since they plan at a broad level and cover a substantial period of time. The core strategy that was adopted in 2008 covered the period up to 2021. It would guide the more detailed policies of the local authorities, i.e. development plan documents such areas action plans and site specific allocations. At the point of writing the 2008 core strategy continues to have legal force[1].

[1] The new core strategy is anticipated to be submitted for inspection by the end of 2012.

Map 5.1: The location of North Northamptonshire ©North Northants Development Company

The core strategy in this case was planning specifically for the sub-region of Northamptonshire called North-Northamptonshire, which is located at the centre of some of England's most strategically important transport links (map 5.1 above). The character of their combined area is briefly characterised (box 5.1 below). It is the combined administrative area of four local authorities. These are Corby, East Northamptonshire, Kettering and Wellingborough. In 2009 when the review began, the core strategy was required to be in line with the Regional Spatial Strategy for the wider region, i.e. the 'Milton Keynes and South Midlands Sub-Regional Strategy'[2].

[2] The Localism Act, which was given royal assent in December 2011, has since removed all Regional Spatial Strategies but the joint authority for this sub-region remains in place.

North Northamptonshire, a 'sub-region' of England

Just under a thousand hectares in size (ONS 2005/6 estimates), North Northamptonshire forms part of the larger Northamptonshire region. Situated in the centre of England, that region has a prominent strategic distribution sector, facilitated by its position within the transport networks[3] and proximity to the South East[4]. The North Northamptonshire sub-region itself is predominantly rural with only 10% of built up land (DCLG 2005). Local countryside was previously mostly wetlands but today can be characterised as a patchwork of ancient woodland (Rockingham Forest Trust 2007), grasslands[5], parks[6] and rivers[7], across an area of mixed geology[8] with a central plateau, valleys and gently rolling hills.

At the start of the case study period, the local population numbered around 294,900 people (ONS 2005), the majority[9] living in the towns of Corby, Kettering and Wellingborough and the rest in over a hundred smaller settlements, mostly villages. Employment in the area as a whole, has tended to be around or slightly higher than the national average with particular areas of specialism (that are still dominant but declining): Corby was a local ironworks centre until the 1980s; Kettering and Wellingborough are historically market towns; and the region has strong manufacturing bases, such as footwear in Corby and clothing in Kettering.

Box 5.1: Brief characterisation of the North Northamptonshire sub-region in 2008

In 2008, the North Northamptonshire Joint Planning Unit published a plan for the area, and was tasked by the central government to write a revised version. At the point of its adoption that core strategy of 2008 explicitly anticipated a review, in order to plan for the longer term, beyond 2021. The document stated that it aimed "to ensure the components of the framework are updated to reflect changing circumstances nationally, regionally and locally" (NNJPU 2008, p.73). In addition, the obligatory 'independent public examination' by the planning inspectorate concluded that although the plan was sound and should be adopted, some amendments (see below) were needed. A range of considerations were brought to bear in the review to determine what the 'changing needs' of North Northamptonshire were and how to deal with them. The focus of interest of this thesis is how community engagement affected this.

[3] North Northampton is lined with major roads (especially the M1, A1/M1), canals (Grand Union, River Nene) and a major rail route (Midland Main Line) and is therefore the site of many road haulage and warehousing operations. Nearby Daventry, where the M1 motorway and West Coast Mainline railway and Grand Union canal meet (commonly known as the 'Watford Gap') is the site of the first motorway service station in England.
[4] From Corby, the most northern town in the North Northamptonshire sub-region, a trip to the centre of the capital takes just under an hour by train (to Paddington station) and just over two hours by car (via the M1).
[5] Especially on the banks of the rivers, mostly natural
[6] Especially the River Nene Regional Park
[7] The wide, shallow Welland to the north, Ise and the Nene which meanders south-north through the valley
[8] With boulder clay, ironstone (previously used in the steel work and iron stone), alluvial sands and gravel
[9] Figures given for these towns in the adopted core strategy are: Corby 54,000; Kettering 86,600; and Wellingborough 74,600, they cite the DCLG

Chapter 4 has set out in some detail the six research topics that emerged from the conceptual framework. They are: major issues; actors & scales; community engagement; planning evidence; shared planning subjects; and policy domains. Chapters 5 to 7 present the research topics, drawing on embedded experiences as well as key events and materials at the three stages of the case study (diagram 5.1). This chapter focuses on the research topics at stage 1, when the basic premises and conditions of the review were being established.

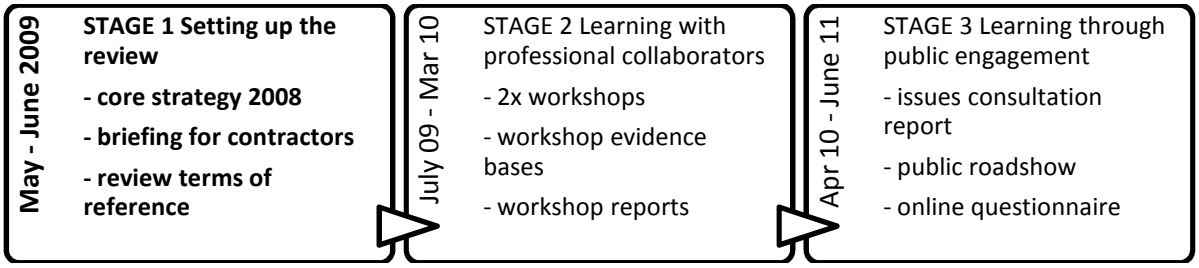


Diagram 5.1: Stages in the core strategy review, with key planning events and materials

This introduction to the case study provides context for the following chapters, and a starting point for tacking the research questions. It sets out who is involved and their perceived roles, as well as: the modes and culture of working; the nature of the policy factors; and the types of spatial elements involved in the case. This gives a starting point for responding to the research questions (box 5.2). As chapter 4 has explained, the data is heterogeneous and some materials are in the public domain. Citations are therefore referenced in footnotes, to distinguish them from background materials, and can also be cross-referenced in the full bibliography.

Primary research questions:

PRQ 1 Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?

PRQ 2 What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?

Secondary research questions:

SRQ 3 What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?

SRQ 4 What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?

SRQ 5 What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?

SRQ 6 What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved?

Box 5.2: Primary & secondary research questions

5.2 Major issues – stage 1

Major issues signify points of conflict between actors. They include the stated goals of the review, and other high profile or political issues. As such, these major issues were deeply important to the key actors; they could produce controversial outcomes and had the potential to dominate the planning agenda. This section outlines them as they appear at stage 1. At that time they could be observed through high priority messages in the original core strategy and carefully worded statements in the initial meetings of the review.

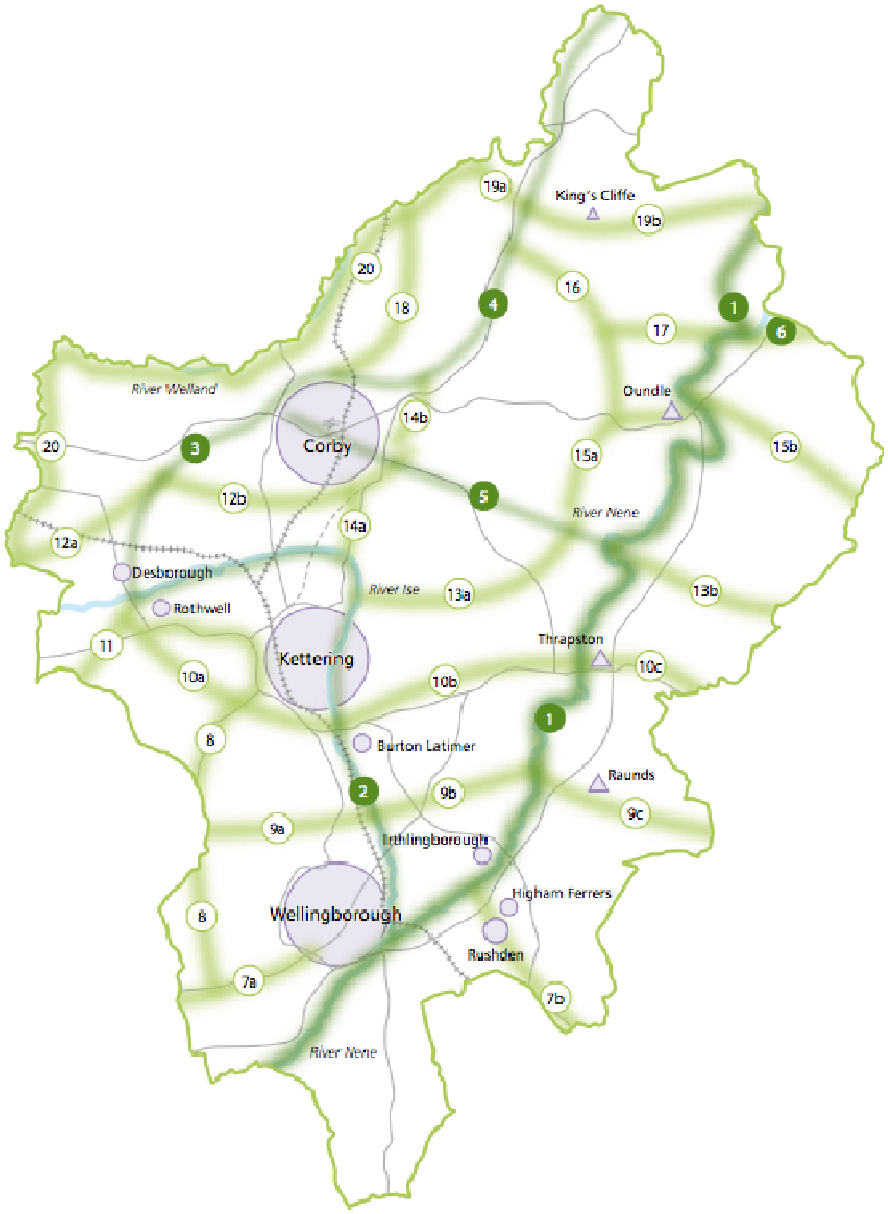
This study aims to look at knowledge rather than power dynamics, but must still be aware of power dynamics. To properly understand the dynamics of the case study, the internal politics need to be grasped. Observing where the plan could have major or differential impacts across the sub-region shows the points of tension among collaborators into the analysis. Significant issues from the core strategy 2008 are therefore critical to the study of socio-spatial learning as they help establish points around which the various actors position themselves.

The first major issue was whether and where to embrace growth. In 2008, the growth targets had been defined (ODPM 2005b) but there were caveats around "moving towards" targets (ODPM 2005a) and questions still remained. Extra work had been completed on what the 'per dwelling' figure from the regional strategy could mean in population terms, using independent as well as national figures. The strategy of development was a polycentric model, based on targeting growth to the three larger towns, or 'growth towns' where development permissions would be encouraged. Since investment would be contingent on growth for any locality, the larger the growth the greater the opportunity for competition or conflict between authorities, i.e. about where new homes and contingent investments might be located.

Secondly, there were inherent tensions around the effect of expanding of all three towns simultaneously. Physical growth could result in agglomeration between the three towns. The 2008 core strategy had taken care that areas for growth did not consume too much space between the towns, and said they had "been selected to avoid coalescence between settlements" (NNJPU 2008, p.28). The fear was that coalescence could threaten the individual character of the different towns and create competitive disadvantages. In an initial meeting for example, one of the collaborators felt that the presentation should have highlighted this issue more strongly and said that "the basis is that [the three towns] should complement each other…this could be happening or not. It is interesting to debate the content [of the review] and how to reinforce this [i.e. the complementary nature of the towns]" (Researcher 2009a, p3).

The third major issue was the position of the strategic distribution industry, particularly road haulage and trucking storage, within the plans for development. Warehousing was considered unsightly and burdensome, and it produced significant employment in the region, particularly in Corby. The core strategy supported the strategic distribution industry since that sector was expected to produce 9,000 new jobs by 2021, albeit lower waged employment. At the same time, special consideration was given to encouraging other jobs with higher wage value. The strategic distribution industry is summarised in the core strategy as having "generated significant investment and a range of jobs but has involved the use of large areas of land, has put significant demands on transport infrastructure, and has involved large buildings that have sometimes been visually intrusive" (NNJPU 2008, p.54).

The 'Green Living Agenda' was the fourth major issue, which did not appear contentious but was given high priority and affected much of the strategy. Although superficially 'green living' was not political, the early stage discussions revealed another side. Much of the core strategy was affected by this agenda, including patterns of development, density, and energy technologies. In addition, it was being used emotively, e.g. where it was presented a threat to rural areas and the lives of future populations (Researcher 2009). The areas designated for 'Green Infrastructure' would be protected and hence determine the future for a large part of the land in the sub-region (map 5.2 overleaf). 'Green transport' implied a complete modal shift which could affect the location and feasibility of new build. Overall, 'green-ness' was a very broad and powerful issue.



Map 5.2: Green Infrastructure, Core Strategy 2008

Finally, the fifth major issue was 'self-sufficiency'. Self-sufficiency was defined in the core strategy as "building up the network of settlements and the transport links between them so that together they can meet more of the needs of local people, thereby retaining people, wealth and skills in the area" (NNJPU 2008, p.18). This implied having three strong core towns, which worked in a complementary way to provide all the services for the area in a sustainable way and, critically, without relying on the surrounding cities for services, jobs and amenities. The relationship between North Northamptonshire and external areas was therefore important but potentially negative. Policy 2, entitled "connecting North Northamptonshire with surrounding areas", talks about strengthening the relationships. However, the 'spatial theme' of self-sufficiency was clearly aimed at reversing the trend of dependency on external areas. As the core strategy put it "the general approach will be to meet needs as locally as possible" (ibid, p23).

5.3 Actors and scales – stage 1

The main actor was the Joint Planning Unit (JPU), a sub-regional public body of Northamptonshire that had been established to produce a joint spatial strategy for Corby, East Northamptonshire, Kettering and Wellingborough. At stage 1 the team consisted of seven people working in planning, management and administrative roles in an office in Corby. The JPU was a collaborative entity of the four local authorities and also explicitly shared its responsibility for the review with other actors local, regional and nationally. It was the coordination body for the review and developed the 'project proposal' outlining the purpose and tasks involved. The work at stage 1 consisted of deciding how operations should be structured and formalising arrangements with collaborators regarding their contributions to the review of the 2008 core strategy. This section describes the scalar implications of that work, and how it gravitated around various people and organisations. It is summarised in the list of the key actors at stage 1 (box 5.3), which will be compared with actors at subsequent stages.

The JPU: The planners who worked on a permanent basis on all aspects of producing a core strategy for North Northamptonshire. Together they formed the core actor and nexus of daily work on the review.

Council Members: Elected members from local authorities and Northamptonshire. They would provide funding and support to the JPU, sit on the review steering group and act as the decision making committee.

Technical Stakeholders: Representatives of local and regional bodies, including public, private and third sector organisations as well as councils. They would participate in technical exercises and help source data.

Advisory Collaborators: Individuals from regional and national organisations. They would work very closely with the JPU to provide independent advice throughout the review and occasionally also technical assistance.

External Influences: Central government, national professional planning organisations and regional media. Their publications on planning in general and specific plans for the local area would affect the review.

The Community: The collaborative sub-regional client envisaged as local residents. They would provide views and feedback on the output of workshops with 'technical stakeholders'.

Box 5.3: Actors - roles and scales of operation at stage 1

The JPU represented a 'sub-regional' scale, geographically speaking, since the area it represented is between the regional and local scales. At stage 1, several significant characteristics were found to distinguish this area as being at a sub-regional scale. Briefly, these are: dependency on larger settlements; a prolific mix of internal connections; and the combination of urban and rural land.

At that time, the term 'sub-region' was also used by the central government to mean anything subsidiary to its regional offices, in this case for the East Midlands. North Northamptonshire is also referred to as a 'sub-region' in the JPU documents but several wider areas or regions are referenced.

At the start of the review the wider regions of Northamptonshire County (map 5.3), 'Milton Keynes and the South Midlands' and the East Midlands were all regions of interest.

The structure and makeup of the JPU connects it to the local councils and the regional council. It was established by the Borough Councils of Corby, East Northamptonshire, Kettering and Wellingborough in 2005. JPU planning officers were seconded from those local authorities. A formal decision making body for the JPU known as the Joint Planning Committee (JPC), was also set up for the review. The JPC consists of three elected members from each of the four councils within North Northamptonshire and Northamptonshire council.

Map 5.3: The Northamptonshire region, and local authorities within it

At this point in time the Labour Party formed the national government, and the Department of Communities and Local Government was championing a 'plan-led' system. The highest scale of English spatial planning was regional planning, which consisted of Regional Spatial Strategies (RSS) that provided direction and targets for local plans. The JPU was initially tasked by the Northamptonshire County Council and the four local councils with producing the Local Development Framework (LDF) documents for the sub-region, and since then also had a requirement from the national Planning Inspectorate for a core strategy review. In 2008, the original core strategy produced by the JPU was adopted with a caveat from the national Planning Inspectorate that it be reviewed (Searle 2008). The sub-region was the first in the country to produce a joint core strategy and the JPU's work was cited as an example of best practice (PAS 2010). There was pressure from the national level to take the core strategy review forward at this time.

Reviewing the strategic plan was a substantial task and required advisory, technical and management collaboration to coordinate and work through strategic thinking. The work included

assessing progress towards certain targets, in order to critique and re-formulate objectives that cover a wide array of issues. Having four separate administrative areas required that local councils help in amassing the necessary information. Developments in the wider region were also necessary considerations in the review. So there were practical reasons for collaboration, and the process of collaborating was a series of workshops with people from each local authority. The events were used as the means to co-schedule work across different departments of local authorities and Northamptonshire council. Two further groups of people were involved: technical stakeholders and advisors.

The JPU said that the local stakeholders needed to agree how to conduct the review since ultimately the "success of [the review process] will depend on commitment from a range of partners to pool their time and expertise in a focused way" (NNJPU 2009a). The work would require local expertise and local technical knowledge to understand and correctly interpret the information, so the review sought to bring local stakeholder organisations together formally. These partner authorities, who were aligned with the JPU either at a local or regional level, were the technical stakeholders. They were expected to provide practical support and advice to the sub-regional level.

Together with the North Northants Development Company and the JPU, the independent planner, Transform MKSM and CABE formed the project management. Whereas the JPU had already built up working relationships with Technical Stakeholders over the production of the adopted core strategy and the Statement of Community Involvement (NNJPU 2006), these collaborators were relatively new to the JPU. In addition to the practical project management, a project 'steering group' would provide guidance. That role was described as "a technical steering group that is responsible for assisting and guiding the technical work underpinning the review of the JCS" (NNJPU 2009e, p.2). The steering group was also referred to as the 'Place Shaping Group' and formally reported to the JPC. By the end of June 2009, it had been agreed that the steering group would consist of the organisations listed below (diagram 5.2, overleaf) representing sub-North Northamptonshire localities*, regional bodies** and regional arms of national bodies***. They were chaired by the independent planner.

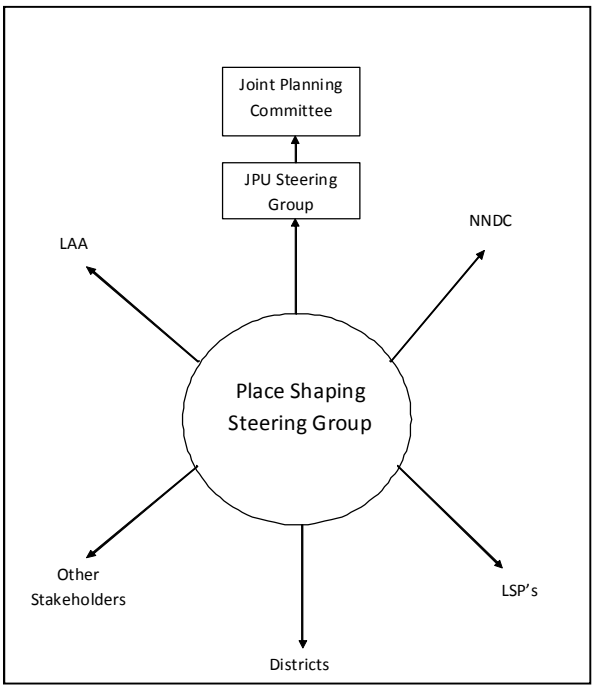


Diagram 5.2: Structure of the review group

On the Steering Group:

- Management (JPU, CABE, TMKSM)
- North Northants Development Company
- Milton Keynes South Midlands**
- Northamptonshire Enterprise Limited**
- Homes & Communities Agency***
- Environment Agency***
- Northamptonshire County Council**
- Northamptonshire Police Service**
- Northamptonshire PCT**
- LAA Partnership**
- 4 local authority districts*

And, in observer status:

- Government Office for East Midlands[10] ***
- East Midlands Regional Assembly[28] **
- Joint Planning Committee

At stage 1, the main actors were the JPU, CABE and the independent planner. They proposed wider participation. The steering group approved their proposal and also wished to be more involved in certain processes. It was specified that there would be formal reporting to partner organisations, including the North Northamptonshire Development Company, and local authority partnerships. From the outset of the review and throughout, communication would be maintained across the group through reports, meetings and workshops. Working processes that emerged are detailed in the next chapter.

[10] All English regional government offices and regional assemblies were abolished after stage 1, in March 2010 by the newly elected coalition government.

5.4 Community engagement – stage 1

The adopted core strategy was intended to have a 'community purpose' according to background documents and community engagement was highlighted from the outset as a critical element of the review. Review activities at stage 1 were focused on project design, and this included planning for engagement exercises at future stages of the review. The actors planned to have substantial community input at later stages. This section discusses the anticipated community engagement, the preparations for engagement are covered in chapter 6 and the actual implementation is covered in chapter 7.

At stage 1, there was no direct engagement of the public in the work of the group, but public participation had been conducted for the 2008 core strategy and issues of public opinion and of community engagement continued to be 'live'. The public engagement work for the new strategy was intended to make the new core strategy "a 'bottom up' assertion of how local communities want to see their places shaped over the next 20 years" (NNJPU 2009a, p.1). In 2009 the steering group had already begun drafting a two year action plan that included approaching the community to discuss strategic issues and options directly.

Local people were seen as the main beneficiaries of the core strategy although they were not the only ones. The adopted core strategy stated that the development it promoted would create "a more self sufficient area, better able to meet the needs of local people and to play an enhanced role in the UK" (NNJPU 2008, p.19). Formal documentation from the previous consultation emphasised that long term planning for the area has a wide impact and can not only meet communities' needs but "also provides certainty for public agencies, infrastructure providers, developers and the community about the scale and distribution of growth" (NNJPU 2009d, p3). The community benefits surrounded not only jobs and homes but also quality of life issues. Improved 'community facilities' in North Northamptonshire demonstrated this, as did for example, "libraries, community centres, local sports, leisure and cultural facilities" (NNJPU 2008, p37). Those community benefits were specified together with a wider basket of local infrastructure of public provision, including housing, transport, education, health, open space and emergency services. Since the emphasis was put on combined services it created a picture of communities as a sub-regional entity.

Central government policy clearly influenced the approach to engagement at stage 1. Like all Local Development Framework (LDF) documents, those of North Northamptonshire were intended to be open to the public. Specific bodies would be formally consulted, "this includes parish and town councils, district/borough councils, the County Council, Government Office and others" (NNJPU 2009c, p.5), as well as elected local and regional councillors and collaborators. Standard protocol

was reiterated about consulting residents and local groups, as well as those involved in the technical side of development (service providers, delivery agencies, landowners and developers). They would for example include "all respondents who have made representations on the submitted plan and not withdrawn them" (ibid) at the public exam stage at the end of the review and any interested party at the other stages.

At stage 1, the JPU reflected the wider professional culture that supported community engagement planning. It aligned its approach with the existing government's policy[11], mirroring their rationale[12] for engagement i.e. that it was legally, ethically and practically justified. Legislation framed planning as a public interest activity, in that it directed development towards communities' needs, echoed in earlier points about place making and quality of life. Planning policy stated for example that the "planning system operates in the public interest to ensure the development and use of land results in better places for people to live, the delivery of development where communities need it, as well as the protection and enhancement of the natural and historic environment and the countryside" (OPDM 2004a, p.15). The planning system at that time had introduced obligations around the participation of communities, and in this sense review was obliged to have public involvement in mind from the outset.

[11] The importance of community engagement was embedded in the planning system, through the Local Government Act 2000 (Local Government Act 2000).

[12] Attitudes towards community engagement sat within a wider culture of community relations supported by legislation. There are many Acts, which work together to provide a framework of rights, which concerns amongst other things the relationship between individuals and organisations whose activities may affect them. As the North Northamptonshire's Statement of Community Involvement (NNJPU 2006) lists, they include: the Human Rights Act; Freedom of Information Act; Data Protection Act; Disability and Discrimination Act; Race Relations (Amendment) Act; and Section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

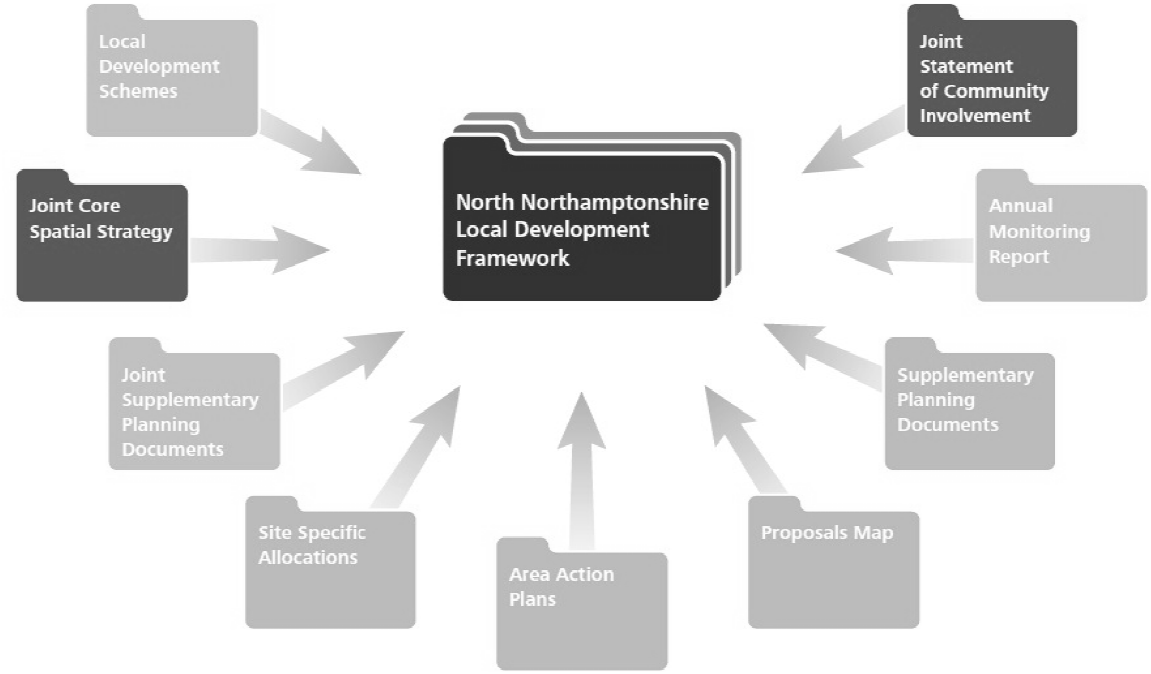


Diagram 5.3: LDF documents, top right 'SCI' feeding into the LDF

The JPU seemed to take the obligations seriously, and linked community engagement to its own broader mandate of participation. Diagram 5.3 above comes from Local Development Framework (LDF) documentation[13] and shows the SCI directly influencing the LDF[14]. The JPU reproduced the diagram directly in its core strategy (NNJPU 2008, p.5). It reiterated the government principles for engagement in its Participation Action Plan: appropriateness to the particular planning task; a sense of local ownership; continuous engagement through the planning process; appropriateness communication channels; and engagement as integral to the planning process. As mentioned earlier, it also repeatedly presented the community as one of many stakeholders that should be brought into the joint-work.

The Statement of Community Involvement had proposed that there would be learning benefits from community engagement for the JPU itself. Amongst other benefits of engagement, it listed: "a better understanding of the planning issues and the planning process; a shared responsibility for decision making; improved quality of decisions and problem solving; the opportunity to work collaboratively with the community and stakeholders" (NNJPU 2006, p.7). At the first review steering group meeting, actors also indicated that learning from the community was part of the review. For instance, an actor from the JPU team said that "output [from the initial stages] needs to be a set of questions to ask wider community" (Researcher 2009a, p.2).

[13] Originally produced by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, which no longer existed in 2009 and the work was taken up by the Department of Communities and Local Government, now branded 'CLG'.
[14] Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 obliged local planning authorities to produce an SCI.

Implicitly another role for community engagement had already been established in the text of the existing core strategy. End-user views were enmeshed in decisions about facilities, for example, provision would be judged on “appropriateness” and services would always be maintained “unless it can be demonstrated that they are no longer needed by the community” (NNJPU 2008, p.62). This suggested that knowing whatever communities needed would help validate policy, and it was perhaps influenced by the government policies already mentioned.

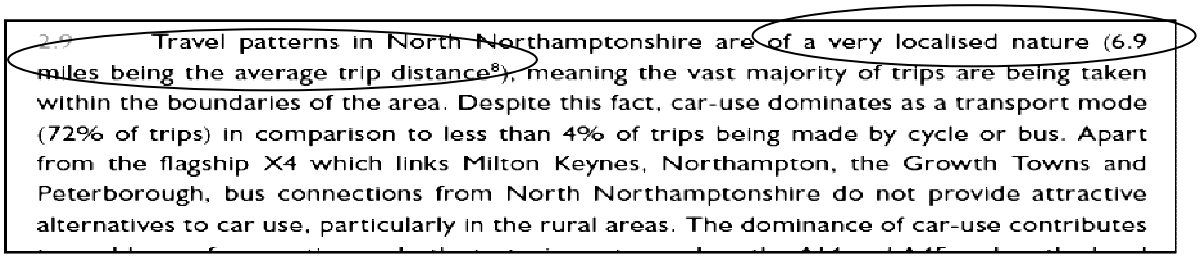
By June 2009, documents had been published confirming why and detailing how there would be public engagement in the review. In particular, the strategy for involving the public in planning, or Statement of Community Involvement, had been in place since 2006 and in January of 2009 a more specific action plan for the core strategy review was published. This Participation Action Plan stated that it would involve “residents and working population of the area, including interest groups” (NNJPU 2009c, p4). It stated that various particular means of information and consultation would be used, including: public events, press releases, statutory notices in local papers, website publication of output, and posting letters. Different modes of engagement would be used at different review stages and the most intense period of public participation was reserved for the later stages, which would entail face-to-face and direct electronic communication with public events and open internet channels (feedback through websites, emails and a bespoke system called ‘limehouse’). Otherwise, where direct contact between the JPU and the public was not anticipated, it was noted that there would be “meetings to ensure approach joined up with Sustainable Communities Strategies” (ibid).

At stage 1, the engagement process appeared to be relatively fixed but they were developed during later stages of collaborative work. As described in chapters 6, ideas about the purposes of community engagement would be further developed and what constituted ‘the community’ would be re-considered. Direct public engagement activities took place in early 2011 and are discussed in chapter 7.

5.5 Planning evidence – stage 1

Planning evidence is singled out in order to assess the claims to knowledge, which are used to construct the prevailing arguments in the case. It also shows how the various legitimacy claims for different points were communicated. In working up a new core strategy, the North Northamptonshire Joint Planning Unit (JPU) would call upon a variety of evidence through an evidence base constructed by the collaboration during the review. At stage 1, the starting point for planning evidence was the information used to explain the policies in the adopted core strategy. This came in many forms, such as statistical information, models, maps, targets, opinions, advisory statements, guidance and even general information such as train timetables. Spatial policies cited various sources for the evidence, including: central government policy and guidance documents; advice and maps from other authorities; data projections and scenario modelling; as well as datasets and research findings. In effect, 'the evidence base' considered here is all the documented information used to substantiate and contextualise the strategy, even where it was not explicitly described as such.

The data used to legitimise strategy included common and less common types of evidence. Some types of evidence were basic reference data from surveys, e.g. the employment and transport figures for North Northamptonshire. These were presented as essential for understanding why policies were deemed necessary and indeed without them the policies might not make any sense. However, figures were often cited from other policy documents rather than primary data sources. In the example in box 5.4, the average trip data was sourced from the Northamptonshire Country Council's Transport Growth Policy 2006 (MRC McLean Hazel 2006) rather than from the Department for Transport's original data[15].



2.9 Travel patterns in North Northamptonshire are of a very localised nature (6.9 miles being the average trip distance[8]), meaning the vast majority of trips are being taken within the boundaries of the area. Despite this fact, car-use dominates as a transport mode (72% of trips) in comparison to less than 4% of trips being made by cycle or bus. Apart from the flagship X4 which links Milton Keynes, Northampton, the Growth Towns and Peterborough, bus connections from North Northamptonshire do not provide attractive alternatives to car use, particularly in the rural areas. The dominance of car-use contributes

Box 5.4: Core strategy citing county strategy document (NNJPU 2008, circling added)

The implication of citing figures from policy documents is that the views of other policy makers are being transferred. Their analyses of national data are associated with particular views in their policies and then transposed into the core strategy. To continue with the example already given, average trip information is cited together with an interpretation about the prominence of local traffic. The data was originally applied to Northamptonshire and distance has been recalculated for

[15] Such as the Office for National Statistics' 'Neighbourhood statistics (2001 Census data)' (ONS 2012)

to the sub-region of North Northamptonshire, but the source cited for the data is Northamptonshire County Council. This clearly demonstrates the choice to cite policy rather than data, since it added weight in a relational way and calls on collaborators' views as part of the evidence base.

Existing policies were also directly given as reasons for the strategy. Government policies in particular were used to justify approaches to a number of core strategy policies. For example, the core strategy was following ODPM's key points for measuring sustainable communities and the development of town centres. National policies were also given directly as evidence that a core strategy policy was itself good practice, for example in assessing the needs of traveller population groups. Policies took on the role of evidence in this way, by acting as a proof of legitimacy that collaborators could relate to.

Within the research framework then, evidence can be seen as signalling a JPU position towards a source of evidence as well as communicating the legitimacy of a policy. Citing a policy showed how North Northamptonshire's strategy was fulfilling an obligation, but using a collaborator as a source of information reinforced their role as a collaborator. This demonstrates that they had common rationality with the core strategy and also that the JPU understood their position. Using evidence can demonstrate the power of relationships and it can also give the opportunity to strengthen existing relationships.

Evidence in the 2008 core strategy was drawn from a wide range of sources, including national government, non-departmental bodies and regionally contracted organisations. Box 5.5 (next page) lists the sources cited. Some of these were obligatory and others were selected as they helped understand an issue or substantiate a policy.

Range of Evidence Sources

Governmental bodies:

Sub-regional

- North Northamptonshire Local Strategic Partnerships
- North Northamptonshire Development Company

Regional

- Northamptonshire County Council
- River Nene Regional Park
- Environment Agency
- East Midlands Regional Assembly[16]
- East Midlands Development Agency[49]

National

- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
- Department for Communities & Local Government
- Government Actuaries Department[17]
- The Countryside Commission[18]
- Office for National Statistics[19]

Planning research, Sector consultancy & Others:

- MRC McLean Hazel
- Roger Tym and Partners
- Entec UK Ltd
- EDAW[20]
- Volterra Consulting Ltd
- Fordham Research
- Halcrow Group Ltd
- Lambert Smith Hampton
- Experian Goad
- Innes England
- Savills UK
- East Midlands Trains
- Building Research Establishment
- Association of British Industry

Box 5.5: Sources of evidence cited in the Core Spatial Strategy of 2008

[16] Abolished March 2010

[17] "..a government department and yet an actuarial consulting firm operating on commercial lines" (Government Actuaries Department 2012)

[18] Which had become 'Countryside Agency' and then 'Natural England' at the time of writing

[19] Directly and through the portal 'NOMIS' specifically for the labour market (ONS 2012b)

[20] Now the 'Design & Planning' function of AECOM

The core strategy had to fit with other strategies, mainly nationally determined regional targets in the Regional Spatial Strategies[21] and local strategies' priorities. As of 2005 the regional strategy for Northamptonshire, Milton Keynes, Aylesbury Vale and Bedfordshire (ODPM 2003) identified North Northamptonshire as a growth region. This placed the issue of 'growth' at the heart of the strategy and gave target numbers for housing provision. It also gave objectives for the area, such as balancing the levels of housing and employment. The government's policy statement on housing (ODPM 2006) set an obligation to have a 15 year housing land supply, supporting the notion of growth as an important issue. Finally, the core strategy had to fit with Community Strategies of the Local Strategic Partnership North in Northamptonshire. The objectives from the LSP around health, education, and prosperity were prominent within the strategy. For many of its policies, the strategy suggested that it was aligning itself with those sources.

> ***"In line with the latest national guidance and planning advice, it is anticipated that new wind energy development proposals and decentralised biomass fuelled power plants will, in principle, be considered favourably in North Northamptonshire**." **(NNJPU 2008, p.65)***

Other sources of evidence were selected to help determine priorities or as a guide to decision making. Projections and modelling work in particular were used to evaluate the impacts of different policy directions. In some instances a single detailed study that focused on a particular topic provided evidence for an element of a policy. For example, a study of town centres (Roger Tym and Partners 2005) reported on a large amount of contracted research including surveys, qualitative studies of centres and trend analysis. The core strategy (NNJPU 2008) also gave the indicative floor space requirements for the area and these were adopted as the minimum net increase of retail space for each of the core towns. On the whole though, different pieces of evidence were used together to provide an argument for the soundness of the strategy rather than simply taken as proof that it was right.

Commonly multiple datasets from contracted planning research and consultancies were used. For example, the relationship of the three towns was evidenced by studies using census data on commuting (Volterra Consulting Ltd 2006), retail modelling (Roger Tym and Partners 2005) and other reporting (Entec 2004). This approach was necessary since much of the subject matter needed a basket of different indicators. Employment data for example covered job sectors[22], unemployment [23]

[21] At the point of writing these requirements had been removed by the Localism Act (2011).
[22] Guided by the ONS's 'Local Area Labour Force Survey (2003).
[23] Including information from 'The English Indices of Deprivation' (ODPM 2004).

and changes in household structures [24]. For the environmental policies, the breadth of the data sources was related to the scope of the topic. Descriptions of environmental issues and priorities referenced Northamptonshire's Environmental Character and Green Infrastructure Suite (RNRP 2012[25]). This was an extensive evidence base in itself, produced in collaboration with many agencies and attracting attention in the wider planning community.

> ***"Regional partners in local and central government, universities and the Regional Authority and Regional Development Agency, who all held largely independent data banks were brought together to form a partnership under the leadership of the River Nene Regional Park, to pool resources, verify information, and fill missing gaps to a common format using the latest technology." (RTPI 2010)***

For cross border analyses, studies from regional collaborators fed into the strategy. These were used for example in assessing water supply with a commissioned report (Halcrow 2007). Regional policy documents were used to flag up likely developments, and collaborators also provided advice. For example the East Midlands Regional Assembly indicated possible rail freight developments at London Haven Ports (EMRA 2005) and the Northampton County Council's Accessibility Strategy (NCC 2006a) demonstrated there was an issue with access to rural areas.

Drawing on multiple datasets gave more opportunity for relating to collaborators but it also had serious technical limitations. It created a variety of data formats within subject matter, which required multiple computations in order to be applicable to the core strategy. For example, regional growth targets for the area from the government's regional strategy were given in household size, whereas demographic modelling from Northampton County Council gave estimates (NCC 2006b) of what the target would probably mean for population figures[26] and settlement patterns. Such data issues resulted in gaps in understanding for some of the most central concerns. The 'housing-jobs balance' was particularly problematic, as the core strategy notes; "monitoring this relationship is complicated, not least because of the poor availability of relevant data" (NNJPU 2008, p.74).

Looking ahead to monitoring work[27], the core strategy highlighted that the policies would be tested against new data and for other requirements e.g. wildlife habitats. A joined-up approach to developing the evidence base was foreseen at stage 1. It was thought that this would bring efficiency gains, build rigour and garner collaborative support for the policies themselves. Garnering sound

[24] Drawing on the 'North Northamptonshire Housing Market Assessment' (Fordham Research 2007) , and demonstrating that the average household was getting younger
[25] The data created in 2006 is still kept updated online at the point of writing.
[26] Northamptonshire County Council estimated that in North Northamptonshire there would be 298,000 residents in 2006 and 370,000 in 2021.
[27] An Annual Monitoring report was scheduled to be produced by the JPU.

evidence for the particularly complex and central subject areas was a strong motivation for further joint-working. As specified in the Participation Action Plan, agreement was required about what should be included in the new evidence base in order to make it stronger and more 'joint'.

> ***"Effective use of resources will be sought through a sharing of evidence and information" (NNJPU 2009a, p1)***

Thus, different types of evidence informed, steered, guided or underpinned the core strategy. In some instances the core strategy was aligned with other policies and so policy documents were cited as evidence. Such references were also a means to creating links in the minds of other organisations. Similarly, advice was used as a benchmark, where decisions could be matched to best or commonly accepted practice. Depth studies had narrower input from collaborators but were useful in avoiding practical difficulties that arose from the various formats within the range multiple data. Working together for a joint evidence base would be a large part of the review work.

5.6 Shared planning subjects – stage 1

The study of 'shared planning subjects' seeks to understand the scope of learning for participatory planning. It starts out with a close reading of the text of the adopted Core Spatial Strategy 2008 to identify the stage 1 subjects. Although many issues are touched on in the adopted core strategy, the policies can be distilled into seven areas of interest as discussed in this section. The description of these 'shared planning subjects' at stage 1 provides the starting point for observing whether they are shared and developed over the course of the review by the participants, and if so how they are changed. Knowing the subject matter of the core strategy is necessary in any case, to grasp the nature of the work.

Policies in the Core Spatial Strategy, 2008

Policy 1 Strengthening the Network of Settlements
Policy 2 Connecting North Northamptonshire with Surrounding Areas
Policy 3 Connecting the Urban Core
Policy 4 Enhancing Local Connections
Policy 5 Green Infrastructure
Policy 6 Infrastructure Delivery and Developer Contributions
Policy 7 Delivering Housing
Policy 8 Delivering Economic Prosperity
Policy 9 Distribution & Location of Development
Policy 10 Distribution of Housing
Policy 11 Distribution of Jobs
Policy 12 Distribution of Retail Development
Policy 13 General Sustainable Development Principles
Policy 14 Energy Efficiency and Sustainable Construction
Policy 15 Sustainable Housing Provision
Policy 16 Sustainable Urban Extensions
Policy 17 Gypsies and Travellers

Box 5.6: Policies listed in the North Northamptonshire Core Spatial Strategy 2008

The core strategy is a highly wrought document, which covers many cross-cutting issues and provides a set of seventeen policies built around them (box 5.6). Section 5.3 has already established that the JPU had a particular approach to strategy making, focused on improving place quality and developing collaborative policy networks. The core strategy policies give more specific insight as to the shared planning subjects, since they were the centre of attention for the review. The seven shared planning subjects that emerged are described below, as they manifested themselves in the policy thinking at stage 1.

The first shared planning subject was **'economic prosperity'**. In the core strategy this was mostly connected with increasing the provision of local employment and capitalising on natural assets. Increasing jobs was seen as essential for continued economic prosperity for a larger population. This

was said to be important in view of the growth targets, which implied a larger than natural increase in the size of the local population. Having a robust local job market was critical. Large amounts of out-commuting might turn the area into a dormitory town, relying on external prosperity with lower 'self-sufficiency'. Economic prosperity therefore involved facilitating a vibrant, mixed job offer within the sub-region itself. Certain local industries were therefore to be encouraged, including the strategic distribution sector, despite its anticipated negative impact on elements of 'place character'[28]. The core strategy made land available for 'higher value' sectors and took particular note of the categories B1 (offices), B2 (manufacturing) and B8 (warehousing and distribution). As a corollary it wanted to help ensure the necessary skills were available locally, e.g. by putting training agreements in place with local businesses and encouraging training facilities.

> ***"…health and higher education facilities at Peterborough and Northampton; retail and leisure services at surrounding large sub regional centres; and employment opportunities outside the area will continue to draw people out of North Northamptonshire." (NNJPU 2008, p.29)***

The concept of **'viable urban centres'** guided much of the strategy and is therefore the second shared planning subject. The premise was that in order for the sub-region to compete with the wider region for business and retail investment, the three towns of Corby, Kettering and Wellingborough needed to be well-functioning and attractive. As described in the core strategy, these town centres would need to have some regeneration of their urban fabric and to provide higher levels of services. Development was therefore to be directed to the town centres since, as they improved, local people would be less likely to spend time and money outside North Northamptonshire. Another associated issue was creating a 'strong network of urban centres' within the sub-region, this would disperse urban development across the larger settlements rather focusing on one particular town.

The third shared planning subject was **'improved connectivity'**. This included connectivity both internally and externally to North Northamptonshire, although only internal connectivity could be tackled directly by the plan. The pattern of settlements and connections between them was critical to achieving the aims of promoting a strong internal market of jobs and sufficient services for an increased population (i.e. the second and third shared planning subjects). For example, jobs[29] should be focused where there was good accessibility, with a preference for the growth towns. The associated high volumes of traffic were potentially problematic as "traffics levels could increase up to 60% by 2021" (NNJPU 2008, p.28). The sustainability of the current road network was therefore

[28] In particular, the typical construction of warehousing was considered unsightly.
[29] The location of B8 jobs would be determined by practical considerations, but new B2 & B3 should be in the core towns.

an important associated issue and there was to be an increased choice of types of transport to services and jobs. Investment in public transport could include passenger rail routes, initially Corby to London and then possibly also local routes. The strategy noted that "North Northamptonshire is dependent on investment beyond its boundaries to improve its connectivity" (ibid, p.29). The strategy supported improvements to wider links that local people and businesses relied on, such as at junction 19 of the M1 in order that the A14 could serve as a trans-European network route to the sub-region.

'Ensuring adequate housing' was the fourth planning subject. In view of probable future population increases, delivering houses was a high priority and their distribution was equally important. Adequate housing involved greater numbers and sustainability, which meant a mix of types, sizes and tenures, including the provision of 'lifetime homes', good architectural design and energy efficiency. Affordability was also an issue, and particular concerns existed about ensuring there were sufficient affordable homes especially in rural areas. The core strategy stated affordable houses would account for 30% of new build in the growth town areas and 40% in East Northamptonshire. The strategy would encourage the upgrading of housing stock and allow self-build opportunities, as well as promoting 'appropriate densities'. For example, the 'Sustainable Urban Extensions' that had been agreed had a density of 35 dwellings per hectare. Housing distribution would follow the pattern of any increase in prosperity, with most development in the larger settlements.

Fifthly, **'green infrastructure'** was an important planning subject in itself, encouraged by national policy, but with other strategic purposes for North Northamptonshire. The idea was to maintain a network of public and privately owned environmental assets, by encouraging collaborations through the Nene Valley Regional Park and liaising internally and with neighbours about the green framework. The strategy also supported the green-link role of sub-regional corridors, and "linking locations with particular natural heritage, green space, biodiversity or other environmental interest" (ibid, p.33). The final purpose of green infrastructure was promoting the use of open spaces for leisure and other social uses.

> ***"Open space, sport, arts and culture recreation and tourism are essential elements of sustainable communities that contribute towards health, quality of life, sense of place and overall well-being." (NNJPU 2008, p.33)***

The sixth planning subject was **'improved infrastructure'**. Increased population and activities required extra infrastructure and services. This element of the strategy was under question[30] and there was a very wide definition of 'infrastructure issues'. 'Local infrastructure' included utilities,

[30] According to its assessment at the point of adoption PINS was not satisfied with this element of the strategy.

public amenities, open space, public transport and affordable housing, 'strategic infrastructure' included wider transport, higher order community facilities and utilities (i.e. hospitals rather than clinics, higher education rather than schools etc.), as well as transport, economic development and green infrastructure. Social infrastructure would also need to be provided along the same phasing as other developments such as jobs and homes. The approach to funding would need to be collaborative, and phasing would depend on growth and success in the area.

> ***"…developments should support the provision or improvement of community facilities and services in the town centres where they will be most accessible to existing as well as new residents." (NNJPU 2008, p.70)***

Climate change and its associated energy considerations constituted the final shared planning subject **'climate change and energy'** that underpinned the strategy. 'Sustainability rhetoric' expanded to community needs but the definition of sustainability was distinctly 'Brundtland', i.e. not compromising future generations. Renewable sources of energy would be encouraged particularly with local supply, recycling provisions were specified, and eco-building assessment levels were raised[31]. Housing and transport policies were largely influenced by these. A 'modal shift' away from cars and encouraging sustainable modes of transport were given a lot of emphasis. In the same vein, having much of the new build housing in Sustainable Urban Extensions would allow environmental construction standards to be controlled.

The seven planning subjects described above are clearly associated with current challenges and the policy objectives they implied. No objective was set in stone, and each decision would be contingent on current state of affairs, such as policy context and economic climate. The collaborators would need to re-adjust their focus over the period of the core strategy review as they considered the current issues. Each of these planning subjects overlaid another and any objective would need to make sense across them all.

> ***"Progress will be monitored and any necessary adjustments to the rate of economic or housing development will be made through future reviews of the plan." (NNJPU 2008, p.48)***

[31] BREEAM rating of at least 'very good' for non-residential and CHS code levels from 4 upwards for residential.

5.7 Policy domains – stage 1

The final conceptual area of interest to socio-spatial learning is the role of policy domains. In participatory theories, planning spans many different domains, which feed into a 'holistic' spatial policy. This section briefly points up how different policy domains are represented within the core strategy and the linkages created between these domains. It describes the dominant domains at stage 1 and tabulates the associations to demonstrate which ones appeared to be strongest at the outset of the review. These policy domains are traced over the subsequent stages of the review in chapters 6 and 7.

Individual policy 'silos' are thought to have a negative effect on strategy making (see section 3.4), and so broader more holistic 'spatial policy' are often invoked, e.g. with terms such as 'place making' or 'sustainability'. Individual 'policy' domains are therefore observed in this research as separate and notionally 'non-spatial' areas of interest with their own rationale and professional cultures. Some have particular resonance for certain actors in the case[32]. The shared planning subjects discussed earlier are substantively different to policy domains because they are constructed by the collaborative group throughout the review. At stage one the policy domains are those embedded in the adopted policies, and the substantive policy requirements (rather than the details or background) of the core strategy were assessed for 'policy domains'.

North Northamptonshire's adopted core strategy covers a range of different policy domains, which are woven together for the spatial plan. Each of the seven 'shared planning subjects' contained several policy domains. Box 5.7 summarises this, and the core strategy policies related to each 'shared planning subject' are given in brackets. Policy 13 "general sustainable development principles" was removed from the analysis as it intentionally touched on all policy domains, and Policy 15 "sustainable housing" and Policy 12 "distribution of retail development" fell under two themes.

Subjects in 2008 policies (#)

1. 'Economic prosperity': Sub-regional jobs; Local logistics industry; Training facilities (8, 11 & 12)
2. 'Viable urban centres': Networked core towns; Regional competitiveness; Local 'offer' (1,9 &12)
3. 'Improved connectivity': Pattern of settlements; Linkages; Transport options (2,3 & 4)
4. 'Adequate housing': Quality; Affordability; Density; Distribution (7, 10 & 15)
5. 'Green infrastructure': Local & regional network; Natural habitat; Community resources (5)
6. 'Improved infrastructure': Local; community & strategic requirements; Funding; Phasing (6, 9 & 17)
7. 'Climate change & energy': Recycling; Construction; Housing; Transport (14, 15, 16)

Box 5.7: Topics within core strategy policies (#), ordered by 'shared planning subject'

[32] Collaborators worked in the areas of health, education, safety, environment etc.. See section 5.3 for details.

Economic policy was related to not only to employment and business, but also to demography and housing, transport (for connectivity between homes and jobs), education and services/facilities (both local and strategic). Connectivity was also a wide subject area that brought transport policy and patterns of settlements together. It also brought together many domains that were associated with the strategic location of services: strategic services and facilities; residential property and employment, and security also figured in the specific policy (i.e. for cycling facilities). Community facilities, good transport, retail, housing and employment were particularly relevant to creating viable urban centres. Policies for the provision of 'adequate housing' centred on residential property issues but were also strongly associated with the environment, demography, access to jobs, and strategic infrastructure.

Infrastructure types were distinguished by their relationship to different domains: 'Green infrastructure' was related to heritage as well as ecological and environmental domains; 'Community infrastructure' touched on local social services and facilities as well as primary health, education and safety; and 'Strategic infrastructure' covered services and facilities at a higher order level often without specific mention of those domains. 'Green infrastructure' was dealt with as a separate issue and 'Infrastructure' as an objective covered two distinct areas - local and strategic infrastructure. 'Climate change and energy' cross-cut many domains and touched on ecology as well as the natural and urban environments, housing and transport.

In the core strategy, certain policy domains appeared to be emphasised. The 'shared planning subjects' provided a backdrop for assessing this. Certain policy domains linked to several of the shared planning subjects and were therefore very prominent and repeatedly referenced throughout the core strategy. Putting spatially specific 'policy areas' such as settlement patterns, density, and other aspects of urban design to one side, all policy domains were cross referenced and the results are shown in the table below (table 5.1). This analysis reinforces the interpretation (from section 5.6) that homes and jobs were the most prominent areas of interest, followed by transport, strategic infrastructure and services. More importantly for this thesis it gives a picture of the multiple associations and particularly densely linked policy domains.

POLICY DOMAINS	SHARED PLANNING SUBJECTS: Economic prosperity	Viable urban centres	Improved connectivity	Adequate housing	Green infrastructure	Improved infrastructure	Climate change & energy
business & retail	*	*					
community services & facilities	*	*				*	*
crime & safety			*			*	
demography	*			*			
ecology					*		*
education	*					*	
employment	*	*	*	*			*
environment				*	*		*
health						*	
heritage					*		
residential property	*	*	*	*			*
strategic services & facilities	*		*	*		*	
transport	*	*	*				*

Table 5.1: Policy domains, by 'shared planning subjects'

5.8 Conclusion: set-up of the socio-spatial learning process

This chapter has sketched out the broad shape of the case study, the review of the 2008 Core Spatial Strategy for North Northamptonshire (NNJPU 2008), and matched the research framework onto the review at stage 1. The main purpose was to examine the six conceptual elements as they were at the outset of the review and provide a 'starting point' for analysis of their development in the subsequent chapters. It also clarifies how the six core elements of the socio-spatial learning process will be traced over the next two stages of review. The key points are summarised below.

The review would assess the impacts of the existing core strategy and this chapter has picked out five major issues that appeared controversial at stage 1. These were: whether and where to accept growth; the effect of growth on the proximity of separate settlements; the image of the strategic distribution industry; an agenda of 'green living'; and the extent of dependency or self-sufficiency of the sub-region. Actors' responses to these major issues will be discussed in later chapters.

Six sets of actors were identified who would be part of the review, each with a distinct spatial scale and assumed, or formal, role in the development of the strategy. They are the JPU, Council Members, Technical Stakeholders, Advisory Collaborators, External Influences and the Community. The main stage 1 collaborators were the JPU, technical stakeholders and advisors, but it was already clear that local community and national government actors would have a larger role in the later stages of the review. Technical and advisory collaborators were expected to be able provide a lot of information and knowledge throughout the process.

Obligations within the planning system had already encouraged early and detailed consideration of the community engagement processes, and this was supported by the actors in their remarks on the prevailing professional and governance culture at stage 1. Although community engagement was not underway at the time, it figured prominently in the deliberations. The review processes being established would include the community, and the pro-engagement stance of the JPU matched the legal and cultural context of that time. Community engagement was presented as a way to improve the plan and lay knowledge already had an anticipated role. The community was seen by the JPU as one of many beneficiaries. Community contributions to the review were anticipated, particularly in identifying different needs in local areas.

Evidence at stage 1 was understood to be any data or documentation used to substantiate the policies in the core strategy. It included formal, detailed, aggregated, grouped and secondary data as well as guidance on administrative and technical matters. The range of quantitative indicators implied a lot of technical background work had been necessary as it was so varied. Sources came

from across the scales and various types of organisations influenced the strategy in different ways. For example, planning regulations had given structure to the document and benchmarking data informed the direction of policy. The subsequent chapters will examine the effect of new evidence and new evidence types on the perspective of the planners. The complexity of the issues contained an implicit argument for strong collaboration to produce data for the review and the key stage 1 actors were already promoting this.

Spatial planning subjects that were shared in the existing core strategy surrounded economic prosperity, viable urban centres, improved connectivity, adequate housing, green infrastructure and 'climate change & energy'. As anticipated in the research design, the subjects covered spatial patterns, trends, aspirations and potential impacts. The intention was to rework these subjects over the period of review.

At stage 1 it was possible to construct a picture of the separate policy domains within the broader spatial policies of the core strategy and their relative prominence (visualised in cloud 5.1). A range of policy areas and a strong pattern of associations fed into the 20 year vision for place quality. Spatial strategies were strongly linked to employment and housing provision and associated with local and strategic infrastructure as well as transport.

Cloud 5.1: Prominence of policy domains, created by the researcher on www.wordle.com

In summary, this chapter has presented a picture of the perceived purposes of community engagement and the role of the planners at stage 1 of the review of the Core Spatial Strategy 2008. The structure, processes and materials of the review have been assessed according to the conceptual framework of socio-spatial learning. They will be monitored over the period of the review in the following chapters. This has set the scene for analysis of communication and deliberation around planning subjects by spatial planners and their collaborators, in this case study. Some specific points can be made already in relation to the conceptual framework, although more details will emerge in subsequent stages of the review.

Key points from stage 1

Role of planners in relation to lay participation

- Planners design lay participation in relation to their review work
- Planners initiate outreach
- Collaborators represent the public
- Collaborators offer a channel to the public

Participatory planning modes & reasons given for their use

- Multiple modes are anticipated
- Best practice culture encourages multiple modes
- Selection of modes is determined in part by known methods, in part by review requirements, in part by available resources

Perceived purposes of learning from community engagement

- Community engagement is part of the prevailing culture
- Learning from communities is partly justified by a 'beneficiary' status
- The community is a sub-regional entity that can be engaged in strategy

Box 5.8: Key points from stage 1

Chapter 6: Building knowledge through spatial strategy-making

6.1 The collaborative learning workshops

This chapter follows the development of the review of the North Northamptonshire Core Spatial Strategy 2008 at stage 2, looking at what the planning collaboration learns and significant factors in building a common knowledge base. This is an important first step towards understanding the involvement of the community. The six distinct parts of the conceptual framework, which casts collaborative planning as a socio-spatial learning arena, are taken forward. This introduction briefly outlines the practical operation of stage 2, when there were two workshops, and a few important contextual points. The rest of the chapter presents the findings for this stage of the review.

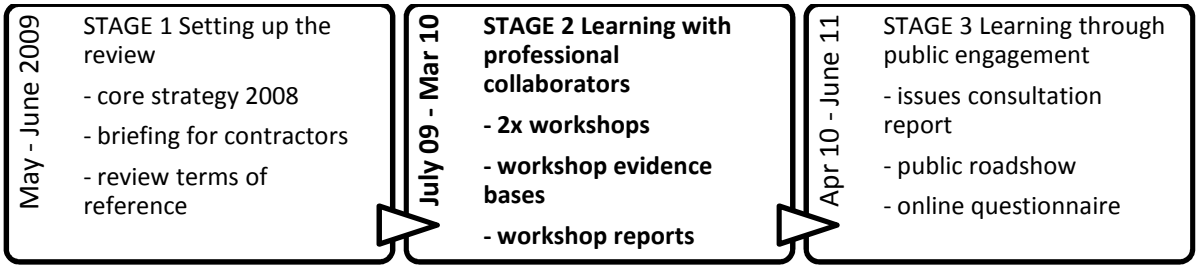


Diagram 6.1: Stages in the core strategy review, with key planning events and materials

Stage 1 has been discussed in the previous chapter. Stage 2 is the period of the review from July 2009 to March 2010, when professional collaborators were working together and before community engagement took place (diagram 6.1). Between July 2009 and March 2010, there were two workshops. Collaborators focused on the strategic issues for the sub-region in the first workshop, and considered the spatial options in the second. The planners were working towards community engagement, which would be conducted in early 2011 (i.e. during stage 3).

Stage 2 is of interest in several ways to this thesis. It provides a picture of the knowledge that the planners were building for spatial strategy making, and how they set up their approach to community engagement. This was a period of intensive collaborative work of professionals who were reviewing the core strategy, and the embedded position of the researcher allowed the processes to be very closely observed. The planning group was working to produce a core strategy that would be the basis of development in North Northamptonshire for the next twenty years.

Operations began with a re-consideration of spatial planning issues from the original strategy. The initial aim was to identify the most important issues and potential directions of change for North Northamptonshire at the first workshop, which was held over three days in September 2009 at the Holiday Inn in Corby. Output from this 'Understanding Places' workshop was reported formally as a

series of issues to take forward to the second 'Place Shaping' workshop. From October 2009 onwards the JPU was trying to define possible elements of 'spatial options'. These would be drawn together into sub-regional scenarios and fleshed out with more detail at the second workshop. This was a three-day workshop, held at the Holiday Inn, Kettering in March 2010.

Four skeleton options built at the first workshop were put forward for consideration and used to produce more detailed draft options at the second workshop. The following list describes the basic elements of these options drawing on development work for the workshops (NNJPU & Researcher 2010, p.4). Map 6.1 shows the areas and key settlements for reference.

A. Urban Core option - a continuation of current strategy with the three growth towns and smaller towns developing to make North Northamptonshire more self-reliant. No centre dominates.

B. Northern focus option - building up the roles of Corby and Kettering (with Desborough, Rothwell and Burton Latimer) to become more self-reliant & accepting that the southern area will continue to look to Northampton.

C. Southern focus option - building up the roles of Wellingborough, Rushden, Higham Ferrers (with Irthlingborough and Raunds) to become more self-reliant to compete with/ complement the attraction of Northampton. Towns in the northern area would take a secondary role.

D. A two-pole option - based on existing functional relationships, building up the roles of settlements in the North and those in the South to become more self-reliant.

Map 6.1: Core towns (red) and larger settlements (blue & green) within options

A further two options emerged during the second workshop. These can be described as follows:

E. A localisation option - based on the unspecific but high profile suggestion from the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government that individual 'local' (in this case 'sub-sub-regional') areas would govern themselves individually, and taken here to imply that each town or group of settlements would plan to be self-sufficient.

F. An ARC - based on the North Northamptonshire Council's proposal to use major investment in an arc shaped transit corridor rising upwards north-east from Northampton through the sub-region as a focus for development throughout the sub-region.

At the end of stage 2, four of the six options were selected. These would be taken forward and further reworked with community input. They are referenced in the following sections and can be seen in their hand drawn form as they were presented at the final workshop session in appendix D.

Having outlined what stage 2 involved, the rest of this chapter looks in detail at the production of knowledge in the core strategy review. It follows the structure of the previous chapter, and examines in turn: major issues; actors & scales; community engagement; planning evidence; shared planning subjects; and policy domains. Section 6.8 concludes with lessons about 'types of knowledge', moving towards answering the research questions.

Primary research questions:

1. Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?
2. What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?

Secondary research questions:

3. What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?
4. What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?
5. What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?
6. What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved?

Box 6.1: Primary & secondary research questions

6.2 Major issues – stage 2

In current theories, spatial planning is opposed to constructing visions of ideal 'end-states'. Chapter 5 has already discussed the nature of the adopted core strategy and how the review was intended to re-assess it. Its policies were not end-states, but at stage 1 there were five high-profile 'major issues'. These could cause political difficulties amongst the collaborators and they were well embedded within the core strategy, albeit implicitly. These are revisited in this section to see whether, at stage 2, they presented a challenge to the production of planning knowledge or indeed if there was any collaborative learning around them. They are referred to below as MI 1 - 5.

MI 1. a particular scale and location of growth

Firstly, it was envisioned that the review would produce a shared view on the appropriate scale for local growth as well as possible development sites. At the workshops, actors reflected on population growth figures as indicators of the scale of growth, but found it extremely hard to achieve a level of certainty or precision about what the increase should be. They considered the likely impacts of growth such as the attractiveness to business investors and possible increases in the number of local jobs. It was thought that the scale and location of growth should be determined by factors related to the impact of location and "what it would mean for meeting [*local*] aspirations and for [*sub-regional*] physical/infrastructure capacity" (Review Project Team 2010b, p.16).

Actors frequently insisted that their decisions were independent of external political motivations or targets. In retrospect, the growth targets were about to be removed by the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, but the planners made no such assumption. Instead they were attempting to get a handle on the different scenarios that would be useful to themselves whatever the eventual future planning system. This established the idea that they were learning about what level of growth would be internally or contextually 'rational'. In fact the discussions touched on relational and technical aspects, producing an attitude of 'contextual rationality' that helped build trust between the collaborators and common ground for their discussions.

'Ideas maps' had been drawn up to provide 'evidence' on growth locations, from consultations with Local Authorities and rural partner organisations. Notes from discussions and hand drawn diagrams were transposed into electronic mock-ups. They presented a visual summary of sites and areas of importance, such as rail bridge constraints and old industrial areas (diagram 6.2 below). They also incorporated 'lessons' such as past policy mistakes, for example where a councillor said that it was "important to learn from Kettering East, SUEs [*sustainable urban extensions*] are a long way from the town centre" (Review Project Team 2010a, p.1). A lot of time was spent negotiating the production of these visualisations but they were not used in the workshops as much as had been anticipated.

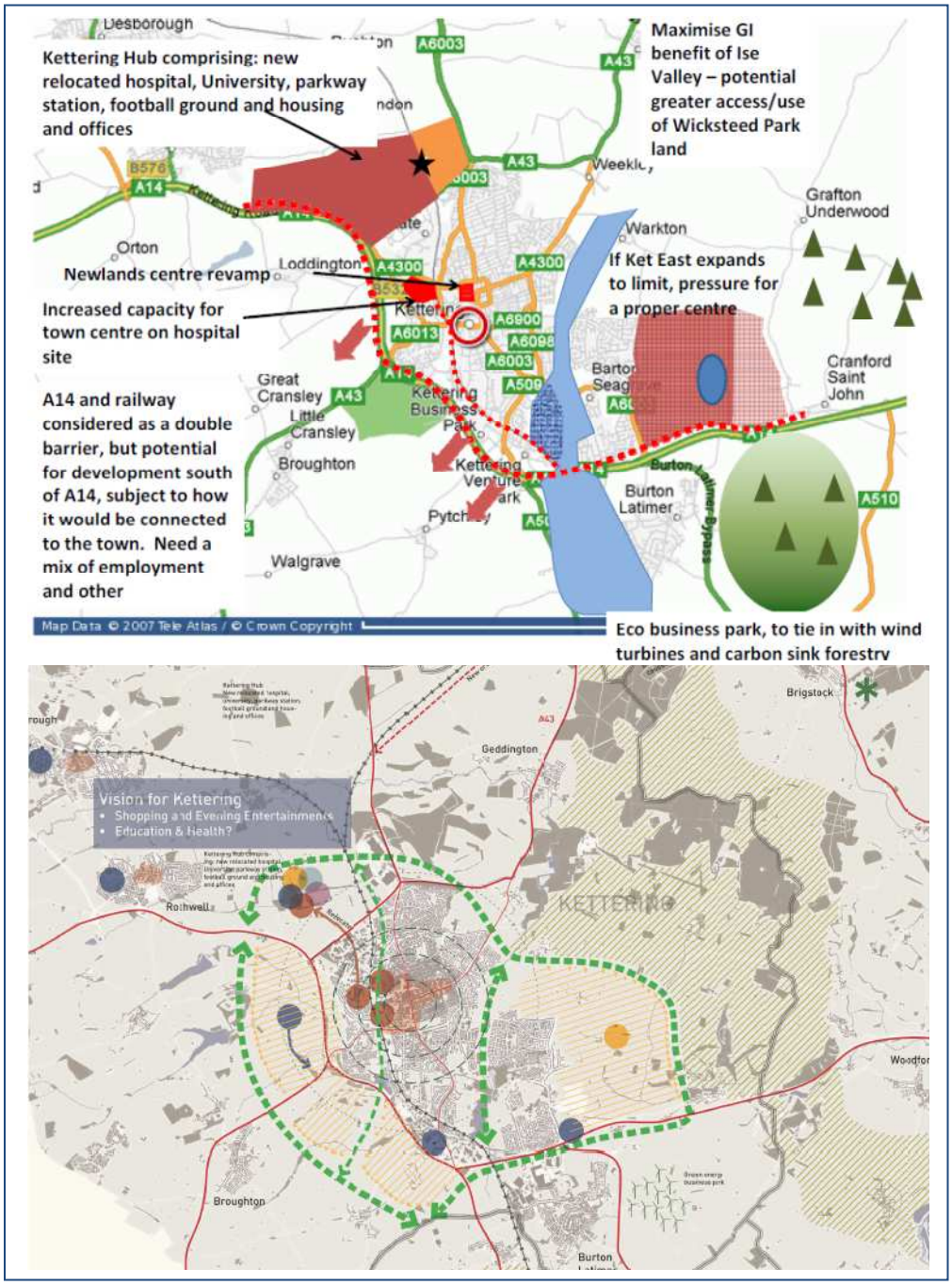


Diagram 6.2: Digitised hand drawn map from Kettering visioning (top) & Ideas map produced by Alan Baxters (below)

Even within the smaller rural and LA workshops the participants felt that finer granularity was needed, and knowledge of relationships at the smaller scale would be needed for a decision. For example they said that more work would be necessary "in order to understand which villages may

form ‘clusters’ and to inform a bottom up picture of demand” (Review Project Team 2010a, p.9). This type of debate was left hanging and did not help to clarify the options.

MI 2. correct proximity of separate settlements

Secondly, the planners explored the effect of growth on the proximity of separate settlements. Views from the first workshop suggested that the core towns had unique identities, which was in part due to their spatial distinctiveness and therefore their physical separation should be preserved. This started a search for complementary functions and a way to avoid coalescence. Agglomeration was considered negative throughout stage 2 work but some alternative arguments were constructed though the process of option building. For example, it was recognised that agglomeration could be a trade-off for development, or as one break-out group put it “coalescence danger versus opportunity to restructure” (Researcher 2010a, p.3). It seemed that collaborative actors’ individual concerns were lessened, and learning could occur when they recognised co-dependency, i.e. for shared facilities.

Throughout the workshop exercises some swathes of land were identified for development and conservation. Familiarity was essential to this exercise, e.g. collaborators from Rushden and Irthlingborough were able to suggest (e.g.) areas of possible growth in those settlements. Perhaps partly for this reason, the specification of sites for development was easiest in the largest centres, for example it was thought that there would be “considerable scope for further town centre expansion [in Corby]” (NNJPU 2010, p.6). Rural areas had to have their own workshops and only during these was it specified that growth was desired; the records showed that “most stakeholders did not want to preserve the villages in aspic and were content that some development took place” (NNJPU & ACRE 2010, p.8).

Recording potential growth sites for towns was fraught with sensitivity and this was a barrier to learning. Collaborators did suggest growth in the direction of other towns but hesitated to draw this on the maps. All but one of the options indicated that growth should move away from the neighbouring towns even where there were fewer physical boundaries in other directions or no immediate administrative boundary. For example, Corby was not shown as growing southwards although an ‘ideas map’, from collaborative pre-workshop visioning exercises, had indicated expansion to the south. Likewise, the ‘northern focus’ and ‘southern focus’ options (details in appendix D) were intended to focus development around the larger towns in the north or the south of the sub-region, yet the workshop diagrams did not record this. They showed increased transport links between those settlements rather than a strategy that would bring them physically closer to each other. One scenario showed development directly between the core towns. However, this

served to underscore their fears and negative perceptions of agglomeration since it visualised an extreme scenario with complete agglomeration. These types of observations indicated that recording knowledge for wider communication could, in itself, be a barrier to social learning.

MI 3. best use of the strategic distribution industry

Moving on to the third major issue of the strategic distribution industry, the break-out group continued to draw on the core strategy, rather than producing any new knowledge. At both workshops, the discussions around this issue relied heavily on briefing materials. Collaborators reiterated the established points about the need to encourage jobs through that industry while at the same time noting the negative impacts of warehousing. Commentary persisted about the need to plan such development in order to prevent 'unwanted trends' from impacts of the logistics industry. The issue proved extremely hard to grapple with. The only point of learning was regarding expansion of the Eurohub (a new possibility at that time), which led to the discussion of whether the logistics industry could expand trade at that site. On the whole, the suggestion that aesthetically unwelcome warehousing might be clustered in one area encouraged more wide-ranging discussions.

MI 4. an agenda of 'green living'

The fourth major issue, the 'green living agenda', was very strongly reiterated at stage 2. It seemed to lend itself to collaborative learning with its wide remit of subject matter, encompassing transport modal shift, ecology conservation and energy 'sustainability'. Green living objectives helped move other development agendas forward, e.g. "getting investment into the rural area and ensuring rural job provision" (Review Project Team 2010, p.12). Green goals were further cemented into the planning collaborators' mindset, as they were repeated throughout the debates. Green energy generation for example was a common argument since it could support maintenance of the green space between towns (MI 3). It was even aligned with the 'growth' agenda, using the logic that there could be 'right places', i.e. where development would have less impact (i.e. tapping into MI 1). This helped to shape ecology-related policy as it added an argument for it rather than disrupting it.

A potential challenge to developing the green agenda was around operational knowledge of green technologies. Firstly, there were difficulties in understanding how to operationalise a 'modal shift' from cars to 'greener' transport options. Secondly, doubts were raised about whether an 'eco-town' was a realistic option. Some actors asserted that the new financial commitments, behavioural change and infrastructure work that would be needed (e.g. to re-open train lines and encourage people to leave their cars at home) were too onerous. This gave rise to some hesitations around the green living agenda, which was still frequently referred to as an 'aspiration'; however the planning group remained committed to it. It seemed that the actors' low level of operational knowledge was

overcome by the traction of green values. Even in the most high impact scenario they still placed the "emphasis on areas to protect" (Review Project Team 2010b, p.38).

MI 5. a self-sufficient sub-region

The final 'major issue' was having a strongly self-sufficient sub-region, i.e. promoting the local or internal economy of trade and employment and displacing dominant external relationships. For example, if retail in Corby was improved, Kettering residents might shop there instead of at Northampton. Self-sufficiency was justified by the other major issues of growth, agglomeration and green living. It supported both the growth agenda and the idea of concentrating development within the boundaries of existing towns. It was also said to have the potential to reduce car journeys. In this way it served to spatially consolidate ideas from other debates. Most notably the 'green living agenda' was suffused with self-sufficiency concepts and lent credence to the rationale of a self-sufficient North Northamptonshire, as one councillor put it "climate change might have bearing on the self-sufficiency" (Researcher 2009b, p.3).

In conclusion, the five major issues were opened up for debate, but there were some barriers to learning. Practical knowledge of feasibility or deliverability, such as financial considerations or settlement boundaries, provided an alternative view but did not change strongly rooted values. Sensitivities within the planning group had become a barrier to communicating knowledge. Hesitation was often expressed as 'needing more data' for better confidence.

6.3 Actors and scales – stage 2

This section identifies the relational factors that promoted collaboration and joint-learning. Work on the review was structured around two workshops. Relationship building and deliberative interactions between actors at stage 2 of the review are discussed, focusing initially on the types of knowledge and learning that were involved. In particular, this section considers scalar interactions inherent in the collaborative relationships and the effects of the 'place-making' approach. Several unanticipated knowledge dynamics were found in relation to actors and scale.

Both the 'Understanding Places' workshop and the 'Place Shaping' workshop were intended to identify spatial issues and options within the planning collaboration. Relational benefits of the approach were observed in informal interactions and in the formal records, for example where the JPU recorded its opinion of the workshop approach at a steering group meeting in November of 2009. It stated that "the strength of the charette[1] approach is that it brings together a wide range of organisations and individuals, taking them out of their day-to-day jobs for an intensive meeting of minds and alignment of common interests" (NNJPU 2009b, p.2).

Most of the actors from the first stage continued to be involved in both workshops. Some new external consultants were also hired to provide technical support for the second 'Place Shaping' workshop, which took place in a context which was both practically and politically more difficult. In the run up to the second workshop much more technical work had to be completed. At the time of event there was unusually deep snow and an impending national election[2]. However, around sixty senior local politicians, local authority officers and planning collaborators still attended. These actors brought a wide scope of different experiences, knowledge and skills to the core strategy review. All six of the actor groups outlined at stage 1 were represented either directly or indirectly throughout stage 2; the Joint Planning Unit (JPU), council members, technical stakeholders, advisory collaborators, external influences, and the community.

At the first workshop there were around 80 people and at the second, around 70. These included local planners, government officials, councillors, businesses, developers as well others from regional and national level organisations. Local communities were constantly referenced and indirectly

[1] Here signifying the intensive period of interactive work, using creative techniques, that was adopted for the workshops.

[2] National political actors and the future of national planning policy were common subjects of debate and speculation, as the country was preparing for national elections on 6th May 2010. National policy from the incumbent Labour government underpinned the work up to this point with regional targets and a defined approach to strategy making, but there was a sense of insecurity since the planning system could change after the elections. A victory for the Conservative Party had been widely predicted and their draft policy paper indicated that there would be a new local system of planning and no regional plans. The group believed they should move forward with their work in any case.

represented at both workshops. Council members spoke on behalf of their constituents and others contributed their own experiences as local residents to the discussions, despite their more formal roles.

Over the course of the workshop, there was generally a good group rapport and personal affiliations were re-worked. Relationships were strengthened by referencing a local identity for the sub-region and the 'place-making' approach. As they worked together they started to loosen their original 'actor group' identities. The actors involved all contributed in their formal professional capacity and also informally. Three particular areas of knowledge were important to the sub-regional collaboration.

The first was experiential knowledge of the local areas within North Northamptonshire. This was about knowing area 'as a local resident', or a general qualitative appreciation of life in the area and what it was like 'from the inside'. It touched on explicit practical details such as inconveniences in daily routines such as traffic pinch points that caused congestion, and involved fluency in 'hot' topics such as conspicuous buildings in a settlement. This knowledge is lived space *connaîssance*[3] in Lefebvre's terms (Lefebvre 1991) and naturally associated with impacts at the local scale (although it could also implicitly involve a wider area, for example where it related to out-of area commuting patterns). Familiarity with the sub-region of North Northamptonshire was naturally critical for the planning work but this 'local general knowledge'[4] was also important as a means to relationship building.

Some actors had commonalities, e.g. having worked together on other projects, but local general knowledge aligned actors who were otherwise connected only indirectly, having agreements with the JPU but not with each other. Understanding the localities in the sub-region was an explicit focus at the start of their review. The collaborators emphasised in their work that they needed to understand the "locally specific issues that need to be addressed as critical to that community" (Review Project Team 2009b, p.3) and JPU devised a tour of the area to set common ground for collaborators.

Over time, local general knowledge was communicated spontaneously and functioned tacitly as the expression of a local identity which could be held in common. Actors from different backgrounds frequently made reference to their own local experiences of the area. Patterns of behaviour were

[3] Connoting familiarity (having developed an acquaintance with something ontological), and as distinct from *savoir*, which is more akin to learning in terms of taking on new facts or skills.
[4] The term 'local general knowledge' is used because local knowledge, in the sense that Geertz used it (1983), represents a distinctive concept within the conceptual framework of this thesis (see Chapter 4).

repeated through the whole of stage 2. New actors brought in at the workshops mirrored previous experiences of cultural assimilation, e.g. being at pains to learn the language of the group and drawing on their personal and professional experiences of the region.

Local general knowledge was also symbolically important in the context of the "North Londonshire" campaign, a contentious 'area marketing' strategy that presented North Northamptonshire as a commuting satellite of London. In the project meetings and the 'Q&A' sessions at the workshops, the JPU and local collaborators made much of explaining the local point of view towards in-commuting. Actors often identified where they lived and called themselves "local" when they lived within the sub-region. Non-local actors made efforts to display knowledge and talk about personal experiences in the area, particularly those who lived in London and the south of England.

There was, however, a tension between relating to the whole area and to local areas. Different goals were associated with different scales, for example local interests or sub-regional agendas. Local authority collaborators had particular difficulty and demonstrated conflicting affiliations. In principle they were working on a sub-regional project when they were involved in the review but were also thinking about potential externalities for their localities. For example, when discussing the merits and demerits of growth in the sub-region their arguments frequently centred on a discourse of "false growth" (Researcher 2009b). That discourse centred on the nature of growth within local areas and the validity of the drivers of growth more generally.

By the second workshop, actors had mostly stopped simply fulfilling their scalar roles and arguing for the goals at their own scales. When asked they could and did give a 'normal scale' view, e.g. where regional collaborators were called on to comment on the options from the perspective of their organisations. However, the scale of operation of actors did not necessarily determine the scale of insight. Local actors saw national and sub-regional synergies, and regional and national actors highlighted local impacts. Regional actors would reference issues for the wider than sub-regional area. For example, funding was seen in conceptual terms of 'supply and demand' and as part of the general era of "difficult times ahead with funding 30-40% cut in budgets" (Review Project Team 2010c, p.2). Even within sub-regional thinking, there was a lot of interest in the role of other scales. For instance, some discussions entirely surrounded the possible local impact of sub-regional plans, e.g. getting the "right tree in the right place" (Review Project Team 2010c, p.3), and the national profile of North Northamptonshire, e.g. getting a status of 'National Park' (ibid, p.4).

The second area was process knowledge, i.e. understanding what constituted 'the right approach to the review'. Briefly, the JPU took a collaborative 'place-making' approach. Formal documentation

also reiterated the centrality of 'place-making'. Such ideas were driven by a vision of planning itself, similar to the 'spatial planning' principles defined in chapter 3, but not necessarily identical. They included for example the linkages between physical areas, scales and social impacts, and the use of transect[5] was debated as it was felt to be very close to a 'new urbanist' approach (Review Project Team 2009b, p.2).

Associated modes of interaction were discursive. For example, JPU explicitly rejected the idea of having an opinion poll on how the core strategy should change. A suggestion was made that collaborators should code whether each policy aspect was either still relevant, somewhat valid or just inappropriate but instead a series of more 'open' questions were designed asking people what challenges could be made to policies, including the regional strategy. The suggestion was rejected because it went against the intended collaborative practices and the habits of discursive interaction. It had been agreed that councillors needed to "take ownership of each other's concerns" (Review Project Team 2009a, p.1) and "get everything on the table" (Researcher 2009a, p.3). At the workshops themselves, facilitators were appointed to encourage iterative feedback loops with appropriate output, e.g. using of cartoons to communicate discussions from working-tables to the plenary group.

Specific awareness of these planning principles and communicative methods was a basic requirement of being in the group. People flagged their own awareness in conversations and presentations to the group by using symbolic language such as 'places for people' (Researcher notes, passim). In one meeting all of the attendees laughed at the suggestion that there should be "coopetition" (ibid, p.2), understanding this as 'producing competition within the region by working together'. Such behaviours were critical in demarcating the group's view of what constituted the correct approach to spatial strategy-making and they served to strengthen rather than re-work relationships.

The core group of spatial planners acted simultaneously as organiser participant and facilitator; they were preparing materials, joining in the group sessions and guiding the work. Review team members literally badged themselves as 'workshop facilitators' and stated publicly that they were in "listening mode" (Researcher 2009b), i.e. looking for new ideas. Contracted parties also loosened their adherence to previous technical roles and contributed to debates without taking a specifically 'technical' angle. Similarly, advisors were no longer serving in that function, but participating in exercises alongside all the others.

[5]Where a linear tranche of an area is taken to demonstrate the nature of the urban form.

The third area was 'comparative' knowledge, emanating from a theme of 'widening' that pervaded the workshops. At stage 1, the JPU was seeking new influence on their agenda. At the first workshop, a Swiss facilitator was brought in to the collaboration specifically for that event to help widen perspectives with an outsider's take on proceedings. He was constantly requested to compare ideas with his own experiences from other parts of Europe. Representatives from businesses also spoke of the need to "see the bigger picture" (Review Project Team 2009c, p.4), developer representatives spoke of seeing the region as a whole, representatives from the education sector spoke of attracting students across boundaries and people from local authorities spoke of "an end to petty parochialism" (ibid, p.7).

At the second workshop, inter-scalar links, and the absence of them, fed into the comparative element of option building. Policy served as a type of evidence and exchanges highlighted the potential synergies between local and sub-regional policies. For example, local connections were linked to wider transport goals "modal shift- sustainable transport options- how to make them walk-able and cycle-able - link into public realm network" (Review Project Team 2010c, p.2). Similarly sub-regional environmental plans and local energy supply were connected, "GI to make space for H2O- floodplain and storage" (Review Project Team 2010b, p.3). Absence of scalar policy links were also brought out, particularly national and sub-regional mismatches, e.g. the core strategy horizons were not the same as those of the treasury. Comparing policies, the actors built inter-linkages of different scales into sub-regional strategy. Where there was a lack of inter-scalar links that helped show where extra precision might be needed in the sub-regional logic.

Comparing the sub-region and other scales was critical both for network building and for developing the core strategy. This was true whether it involved alignment or contrast between scales. Potential synergies were uncovered between local and sub-regional goals. The sub-regional scale was the focus of the review but could be easily linked to smaller scale goals. The wider scales, both regional and national, could also provide new evidence in support of a policy direction. A notable example was the concern to support the wider environmental agenda with local job creation, such as the employment that could be provided by a National Park of wind farms.

Ultimately, a knowledge culture was evolving as actors collaborated. It was highly contextual, yet not bound by set notions of scale. Actors were effectively disassociating themselves with the scalar identity of their institutions (i.e. where the JPU is no longer identified with the sub-regional scale, council members with the local scale etc.). They loosened their original identities from stage 1 and bonded through a common modus operandi. Local general knowledge and technical knowledge were also important in establishing relationships. Local general knowledge evoked lay knowledge

prior to formal community engagement and distinguished potential 'outsiders', i.e. a-scalar or operating at too 'high' a scale. It was also becoming a strong criterion of validity of knowledge. Technical knowledge of the processes and a familiarity with commonly agreed processes reinforced the sense of importance of actors to the group. Process knowledge helped with communication and also helped break down the scalar roles. 'Comparative' knowledge appeared to have the inverse effect. It dissected relationships, e.g. focusing on the fact that the actors were from across all scales, and critiquing any set approach to planning. 'Comparative' knowledge established a common ground in the idea of constant learning.

Before moving on to the next topic, it is useful to look at the effect of the review and joint-learning on the collaboration itself. All six types of actor remained in place at stage 2, but there were notable new influences. Firstly, technical assistance was needed to create a coherent expression of the complex output from the various background consultations prior to the workshop. In particular a planning consultancy was hired to draw up thoughts into 'ideas maps' (e.g. diagram 6.2). Secondly the external influences were changing even though the new government had not yet come to power. Shadow ministers were positioning themselves for the elections and beginning to promote what would become the 'localism agenda'. Thirdly, wider consultation was beginning to take place. Rural and small town workshops were being held. These new actors are assessed in turn for joint learning.

The new Technical Stakeholders had been invited to be part of the collaborative group and were expected to contribute as much as any other actor in the debates. They integrated as the actors from previous stages had done by referencing their local knowledge, i.e. studies they had previously complete in the region and previous experience of working with some other people in the group.

As part of the working group these technical actors went through a process of developing their own knowledge. They learned about the planning process and strategy as it was defined by the group. In turn they applied this knowledge to the ideas maps and created a visual representation of their interpretation of the collective mindset of each of the local authorities. The act of creating these maps was itself a channel for discussions and joint learning for the whole group. Even when the maps had been produced in their 'final forms' for the workshop deliberations continued around them and the ideas they contained as the actors considered how to build options.

A Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition had not been predicted; nonetheless the policy changes suggested by the Conservatives during the election campaigns were anticipated and ended up being implemented. Preparation for the upcoming political changes and potential new actors was evident in the use of terminology and ideas associated with 'localism'. Expected government policy

directions were fed into option testing but ran counter to the prevailing ethos of regional collaborations. Therefore the very idea of a 'localisation' option came to an impasse. Since it was interpreted as a 'fragmenting' strategy, ideas from that work were hard to use for an independent coherent sub-regional strategy.

There did not appear to be a way to build the ideas behind their agenda of 'localism' into the group thinking. An original meaning was attributed to the terms using the etymology of the word 'local' to try to build a semantic logic for it but eventually it became so narrowly defined by one word that it lost any meaning for the group. It was not possible to learn together with those new actors, as there was no channel to communicate with them. Those actors were unconnected with the group and their ways of working and values. That resulted in the loss of any meaning that might have been transmitted let alone any joint working.

Other new contributors were brought in through the rural events held at local school premises, with the help of Northamptonshire ACRE, i.e. the Rural Community Council a charity which had a substantial community network. This action was in response to the workshop 1 'output', a report which suggested taking forward some ideas around development in the rural areas. The new actors were engaged with plenary and break out group working where they discussed issues together with the JPU. The JPU was specifically trying to reach a wider audience and these new contributors would continue to be part of the review team after stage 2.

The thinking was drawn together in reports for those events which were circulated to all collaborators. Those reports were referred to during the discussions about options. In addition some of the thinking from the events was fed directly into the options work by JPU and Council attendees. More detail about that part of the sub-region emerged through discussions, alongside a sense of the issues and aspirations of those actors about the plan. This increased the range and depth of voices.

At stage 2, the nature of the work suggested that wider or deeper collaboration would be needed to take forward the options which were being built. Certain policies, such as developing the 'network of greenery' or funding better infrastructure, relied on being able to collaborate across the sub-region. Certain people, with ownership of or expertise in what could become shared natural or man-made resources, would need to have joint learning and pass that on. Indeed a whole other workshop was run to promote a Carbon Sink Forest, after which the next step planned was "public promotions / corporate promotion to raise profile and get ground swell of popular support to influence funding" (Forestry Commission et al. 2010, p.3).

Overall, a significant part of the knowledge produced related to what collaborations were needed. Joint working initiatives produced strategy but also briefs for different and wider collaborations. Agreement about values promoted joint learning and would create strategy and collaborations. However, new ideas would be critical in achieving 'review' rather than reproducing the old strategy, for this reason constantly nurturing different collaborations was a high priority. Tacitly the planners knew that the purpose of forming alliances was fundamentally to promote their own continued learning. New collaborators had different means of producing and communicating ideas. If their contribution was going to take root in the shared store of knowledge, and ultimately feed into the options, the new alliances would have to adopt an appropriate means to jointly producing knowledge and embedding it in the planning culture. This section has demonstrated how physical presence helped in creating and transferring ideas from one iteration of work to the next. It showed that ideas needed to be described in such a way as to be relevant to the task at hand. They needed to be related to the context of the working group and in this way knowledge could be documented as a means to joint learning e.g. through the rural workshop reports. These points run through the following sections (especially 6.5) and are also important for the synthesis of findings from all three stages (chapter 8).

6.4 Community engagement – stage 2

This section considers the learning associated with community engagement as the JPU prepared for its public participation work (entitled the 'Issues Consultation' and the subject of the next chapter). Purposes and techniques of community engagement had already been itemised (see chapter 5), but they were further developed as the group shared ideas. In particular they created a shared pool of knowledge around community engagement methods. They also fleshed out an image of the community itself, as they considered the community impact of spatial planning. The following text demonstrates how naturally the subject of community engagement surfaced during the collaborator workshops, and how it echoes the interconnectedness of the two fields of theory which underpin this thesis (as discussed in chapters 2 and 3).

At stage 1, collaborators said they wanted to "develop a framework for dealing with these other actors on a needs basis" (Researcher 2009a, p.2). Rules around community engagement in fact emerged more organically as the review work progressed, when people drew on their professional experiences. Planners said they should have a clear message and make their ideas easily comprehensible to a lay audience. For example the steering group said they would make "an attempt to make the information more user-friendly and appealing, to a wider audience than would normally engage with the early stages of plan making" (NNJPU 2009a, p.7). In order to improve the approach to engagement they tried to understand what the dialogue might involve, and who the community might be.

The review process was conceived in part as improved community engagement, which would try to bridge a gap between the core strategy and local residents. Stage 2 was intended to primarily involve the definition of issues that could then feed through to an options stage of review, but the definition of issues would also require community input. At stage 2, the JPU continued to assert that in fact the "technical workshops would be part of a wider process of local engagement" (Review Project Team 2009c, p.3). More practically the review team had specified, from the start, that "workshop1 output needs to be set of questions to ask wider community" (Researcher 2009a, p.2).

It appeared at first that the review team were hoping to glean specific, almost technical, information from the community. Indeed, at stage 2, community engagement operations were initially determined by considering the pertinent questions and possible public reactions to particular policy directions. Actors made reference to public comments from previous core strategy consultation and recounted anecdotes from other studies to substantiate those points. As the collaborative group conceptualised it, the work would consider the likely "community effects" (researcher notes, passim)

of the strategy on residents of North Northamptonshire. Understanding these impacts was seen as a way to learn the 'real' value of strategy.

Picture 6.1: Image captured from community engagement video for presentation

In preparation for the review, there were ideas about important cohorts of the community. Some population groups were thought to have been underrepresented and therefore engaging them would be particularly important. Input from these groups was given prominence in the learning workshops. Young people's views were shown in a rolling video of interviews, which were on constant display in the information corner (picture 6.1). They were also considered an important cohort because they could represent the future community of North Northamptonshire. In addition to the youth cohort, collaborators' wider constituencies were constantly present in peoples' minds. People were encouraged to 'get their agendas on the table', which meant being clear and open about issues of the people they represented. Elected representatives for each of the four local authority districts attended the workshops and made strong statements about their constituents' views.

Understanding the future community was part of the preparatory work. The nature of local communities became more explicit during the workshop. Developing an understanding of the relevant community was difficult as it was a notional future population. In constructing a vision of the theoretical community the policy would serve, they mainly looked at the present structure of the population. Facts and statistics were disseminated, and visually represented. For instance, the variety of the sizes of settlements was considered important, for example "settlement populations range from 20 to 9000" in the rural areas (Review Project Team 2009c, p.14). Even projections of the future population size were primarily derived from the present one.

Cultural characteristics were also seen as important to quality of life and the team tried to build a picture of this. At the same time they were aware of the limitations of their approach and hoped that community engagement might fill the gaps in their knowledge. Conversations and other more informal feedback from workshop exercises also informed the picture that was emerging. Workshop discussions frequently, involuntarily turned to discussing communities. Information about local people's 'lifestyles' and 'what the community wants' were points of great interest. Many anecdotes from local professional and personal experiences were shared.

A shared vision was constructed about what was important to the review and who the community was. This informal knowledge sharing gave a sense of what aspects of local people's lives planners thought were pertinent to the strategy, and in an 'Identity Exercise', it became apparent that the collaborators felt that culture was high priority. This included attitudes of local people as well as heritage, crafts, and arts. They said that local people had a strong sense of community and pride in their local area. They also noted a local skill base that drew on the history and culture of the area. Examples included the Northern Soul music scene, shoe making, steel and ironstone industries and their associated history of Scottish immigration.

At stage 1, the community was seen alternately seen as the current residents of North Northamptonshire and the future 'client' of the plan. Discussions about the engagement process and its purposes assumed a high utility of community knowledge to strategy making. At stage 2 the group was developing a shared vision of the characteristics of the community and more closely defining the engagement processes they would use. Some details of the engagement process were emerging. Sharing professional experiences at stage 2 reinforced the 'needs-based' approach to the community that emerged during stage 1. Preparation for engagement required anticipation of the topics and the participants. Youth cohorts and borough constituencies were prominent. Attempts to pick out the important characteristics of the North Northamptonshire community drew on both formal systematised demographic data and more informal anecdotes. 'Facts' about the population of North Northamptonshire were supported by conversations around local culture, all of which built a common understanding of the community.

6.5 Planning evidence – stage 2

This section considers the nature of planning evidence during the option-building work at stage 2. It examines how planners signal learning as a collaborative group, and the emerging knowledge of spatial relationships and communities. It begins by outlining the documented evidence prepared for workshop 1 and the evidence culture implied for this group of planners. Next it discusses practices of expanding the common store of knowledge and acquiring new 'facts' at workshop 2. Finally it examines how spatial options are anticipated, debated and substantiated.

The evidence culture of workshop 1

Evidence was initially conceived as 'all forms of documented proof', that could established a joint rationale. This evidence-based joint rationale is where the collaborative group shared a position and is characterised as being built on knowledge that was sub-regionally relevant, explicit and systematised. Documented evidence was used in discussions of scenarios, to try to understand how elements of a scenario would work in practice. A briefing pack was produced for the workshops and, even in compiling that pack, relational and interpretive information was critical. The different natures and format of the documented evidence was analysed, and key points are provided here.

The review team's "store of knowledge", to borrow Healey's term (Healey 2007), was developed in part from this documented evidence.

Drawing on Healey's model of knowledge forms (ibid, p.245) it is possible to depict the dynamics emerging at stage 2 (diagram 6.3 right). Briefly speaking: hard data i.e. facts and figures, were useful but never on their own; and softer data such as policies and advice were needed to interpret codified information and build scenarios. Implicit knowledge was always made spatially explicit with maps. Repeated references to a particular source of evidence across different subject areas reinforced its validity and the validity of knowledge associated with it.

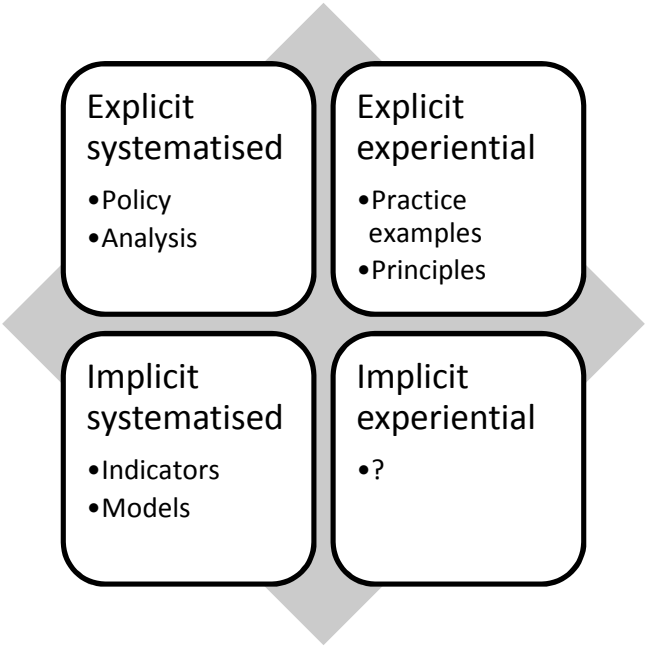
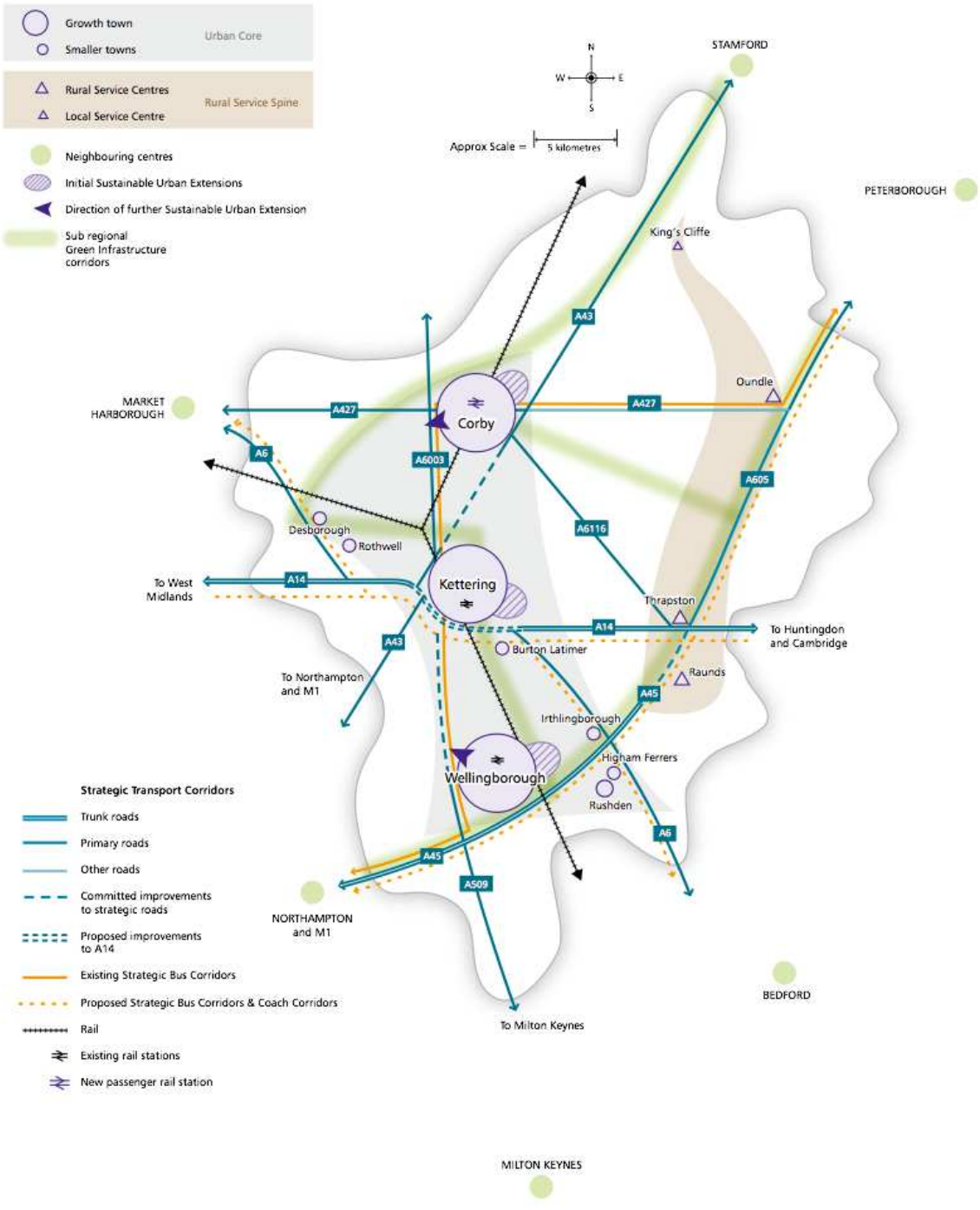


Diagram 6.3: Knowledge forms that constituted 'planning evidence' at Stage 2

The pack included a variety of other material: at lot of quantified information data from the existing strategy; national legislation, regional and local strategies; JPU commentary on policies in the

current core strategy; and numerous references to forthcoming draft strategies. Geographical representation was a common means of communicating the documented evidence. A good example is the key map (map 6.2), which was used to highlight all of the most relevant points for the attention of workshop attendees.



Map 6.2: Key Diagram, 2008 Core Strategy

Different forms of knowledge were useful not only in different ways but also for different subjects and at different scales. National policy provided explicit experiential knowledge, with principles, directives and ideologies. These stimulated creative thinking around transforming policy. Knowledge from the community was explicit[6] and experiential. Systematised knowledge could challenge strategy but was itself more malleable and debated than explicit community knowledge.

Implicit systematised knowledge was challenged especially where it appeared in multiple codified forms. Numerical data, models and projections were in fact presented as evidence to be challenged. They were not considered useful unless they were directly about the sub-region, i.e. North Northamptonshire statistics. Statistics from outside the sub-region were therefore excluded, but knowledge from policies outside the sub-region was included.

Professional advice and other organisations' strategies were easily related to the task at hand. Technical collaborators' views on their own policy areas and neighbouring authorities' policies helped to learn about the impacts on North Northamptonshire. Acknowledged relationships and contingencies, such as scales of interest and neighbouring actors, helped determine the relevance of evidence.

Expanding the common store of knowledge at workshop 2

Learning was in part about expanding the awareness of different areas of knowledge. The presence of different actors from different scales and organisations increased the variety of perspectives, even though the JPU and their collaborators were operating as a group. Some people were focusing on supply and others on demand, and there were many different areas of knowledge such as older studies of the areas or experience from overseas. This was recognised by the planners who said for instance, "there may be a need for participants with specific technical knowledge to act as 'roaming experts' in order to ensure that their knowledge is available to all groups" (Longley 2010, p.2).

More detail was provided for the second workshop than for the previous one, including: a set of briefing notes on previous work that had been created by collaborators; ideas maps from the four local authorities prominently displaying areas of interest for different types of development in their areas; and various other sub-regional data and maps at an 'information corner'. The data were produced using a variety of methodological approaches and represented a range of sources. Documented evidence at both workshops included was a range of form and structure and the evidence base was complemented by argumentation, anecdote and innovation in the discussions.

[6] Normally, it would be implicit however since it was documented is considered explicit in this instance.

For the most part, scenarios were developed with notes on creative discussions and free-hand drawings. Extra technical help for evidence building was available to the planners; a private planning consultancy was brought in and graphic facilitation was also enlisted with fly-through map work. Identifying details from the available data that were relevant for the scenarios was not always easy and difficulties were sometimes attributed to the need for more or better quantitative data. Qualitative or 'soft' data such as maps and descriptions of previous development successes were found useful as evidence that a course of action might be worthwhile. For example, 'evidence' of transport options drew on ideas about the end-user experiences, or where rapid train systems and comprehensive ticketing could be effective. This range of evidence types enabled the production of detailed sub-regional visualisations and discussions around multiple perspectives.

Collaborators were also testing the legitimacy of different strategies by discussing the options as life-like 'scenarios'. Drawing up the different options appeared to affect the planners' thinking through their different slants on divisions within the sub-region. Some had a focus on development in one part of the region (north, south or just the towns), another took all individual areas as separate, and another looked at the sub-region as a whole in its external context. Focusing development on one area, either north or south North Northamptonshire, positive and negative aspects of changes were enlarged and therefore more obvious. For example, the potential agglomeration and loss of rural space stood out more vividly. This also helped determine what the level of change could be and possible associated requirements such as higher density or a new facility. Next, all individual areas were taken as separate units for development. This brought out the strength of existing relationships and mitigated the strong focus on sub-regional relationships. Finally, by looking at the sub-region as a whole within its external context, planners focused their thinking on the potential benefits and threats of those relationships.

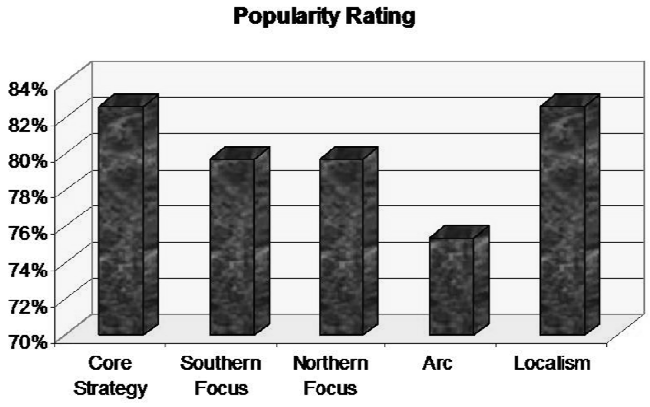


Chart 6.1: Scenario popularity ratings shown in workshop presentation

But some issues continued to remain unresolved, and the response was frequently to seek more information. This could either mean more detail data or a new type of data. In cases of 'more data', planners considered that more detail would help see a truer or deeper perspective, in effect strengthening the test about the likely impacts. For example after significant work around the 'twin poles' option, the planners still told themselves "[we] need to do further work about where everything will go" (Project Review Team 2010b, p.35) to better understand the impacts of the mooted development. Different 'types' of data, were also thought to be a way to better understand impacts. For instance, one collaborator said "we need an economist" (Researcher 2010c, p.1). This was typical of the planners' attitude in as much as they were prepared to listen to outsiders.

Some of the time before the workshop had been spent on producing 'threshold data' and 'proforma'. This type of information included information on the possible capacity for development, especially the land use figures from previous years. There was a strong theme in the discussions about these being 'deciding' factors with statements, which is to say that they felt that quantified data could somehow supply an answer. It appeared that the new data was seen a way to settle debates rather than be part of the discussions, looking for an outside authority rather than a new perspective to include inside the process.

This echoes the finding from the study of documented evidence at workshop 1, that formal knowledge was important to strategy building but had limited powers. As before, visual materials were helpful in discussing the impacts of different strategies. It also shows how broadening perspectives addressed this shortcoming to some extent. A wide range of perspectives was useful in fleshing out scenarios, but sometimes it reached a limit of usefulness. In such cases planners either implied or stated that the 'evidence' was insufficient. This happened either where there was not enough depth on a perspective or where some perspectives were in conflict. Solutions suggested included providing new spatial scenarios, more detailed data or a new type of data.

Spatially referenced evidence

In the collaborative work evidence was always related to a spatial area, such as the areas of strategic interest to the core strategy: a sub-region; four individual local authority areas; and three core towns. These areas were not simple pieces of a sub-regional map but overlapped geographically and were associated with each other in various ways. At stage 2, the collaborative group was learning about common spatial interests for these areas, such as shared economic prosperity. These sub-regional issues had two effects on the thinking of the group: they could be drivers of the core strategy; and they could provide evidence of new spatial groupings.

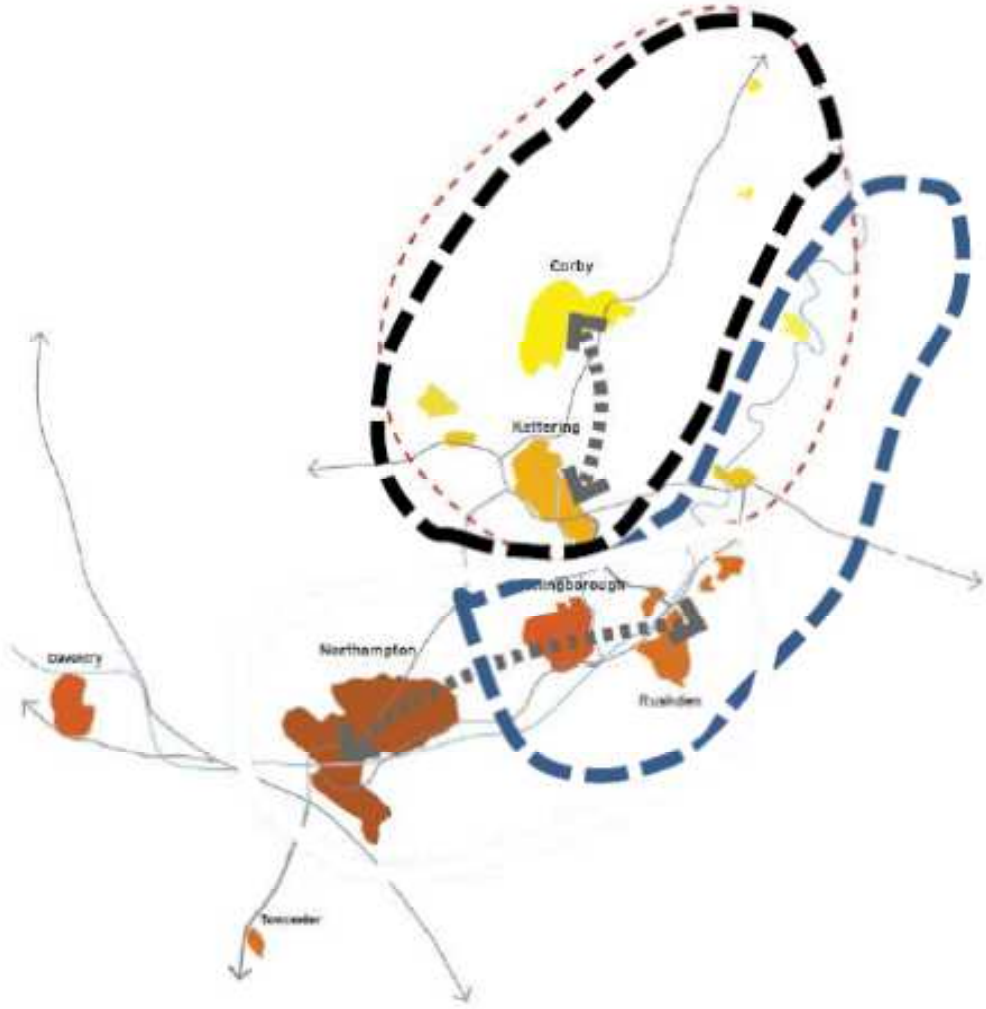


Diagram 6.4: Example of spatial groupings

In preparation for the workshops documented evidence was assessed for opportunities that different areas held in common, such as green industry potential in both Corby and East Northamptonshire. This created connections between those areas in the minds of the planners and gave rise to particular spatial groupings (for example as shown in diagram 6.4 above). The planners designed the workshop materials to help visualise new spatial groupings. They reworked the spatial groupings of the core strategy, i.e. the three towns working together plus a rural 'spine' of settlements to the east to make new spatial groupings that could give a framework for the planners to examine how people from one place used other parts of the sub-region. This drew on evidence of where people travelled and what they did in different places, and evidence of how different parts of

a spatial grouping might indirectly support each other, for instance treating water in one place that would be used in another.

At the workshops, collaborators strove to envision new functional relationships beyond the local authority areas. New functional links were suggested for groups of settlements, such as creating a "link between towns with new node at Chester and Kettering - employment and HOF [higher order function] focus there" (Researcher 2010c, p.1). Likewise, some actors suggested the relationship between Corby & Kettering could be strengthened by creating entertainment nodes. Sometimes individuals sought to mediate for or against a particular spatial grouping. For example, representatives of Kettering and Wellingborough both wanted to provide larger scale retail rather than working together (i.e. mediating for the configuration shown in diagram 6.4). A couple of terms became very important to this work. Firstly 'Higher Order Functions' (HOF) took on a particular meaning, where a settlement could provide certain large-scale services across the wider area. Secondly, 'functional relationships' were said to exist where different settlements worked together, sharing for instance a single centre for entertainment, jobs or retail. Such language helped new spatial groupings to be seen in a more positive light, since 'HOF' and 'functional relationships' implied there might be positive benefits from the new groupings.

Collaborators discussed relationships beyond the borders of Northamptonshire. They included those areas which currently 'served' each other, for example the functional relationships in the north the sub-region with Leicester, Rutland and Peterborough and the strong relationships between Kettering, Wellingborough and Northampton. Further existing spatial groupings were identified, together with a vision of how these might change. So, for example, outflows to Leicester's larger retail offer reduced expenditure at local retail outlets but might be stemmed by providing a larger retail offer within the sub-region. The collaborators also discussed how to make the case for such development. Links across different settlements could be seen in transport patterns, but a deeper understanding was required. The causes and impacts of the travel patterns were more important for planning than the description of them. However, there were often gaps in what data was available at that point about the wider scales; the documented evidence of the travel patterns lacked detail at that wider scale.

New 'integrative' logic was proposed for groupings that crossed boundaries. New knowledge was constructed around 'integrative' elements that could indicate viable cross-border groupings. Much of the workshop was given over to understanding which common resources and aspirations could link external areas into a spatial grouping. Opportunities for a local centre of excellence could bring settlements together, for instance tapping into industrial specialism around motor racing at

Silverstone. Many new sub-regional groupings were imagined, drawing on knowledge about how North Northamptonshire towns could work together as a counterbalance to other areas.

It was relatively easy to work up scenarios where Wellingborough could be grouped together with Northampton. Representatives from Northampton were part of the collaboration and so the planners were able to imagine how they could work together with Northampton. By contrast, it was hard to envisage a functional relationship that could include settlements at the national and international scale, for instance using the European rail routes. Facilitators encouraged the collaborative group to consider such wider areas, but the discussions produced questions rather than ideas. Instead collaborators wanted more examples from towns that had experience of building international functional relationships.

To articulate spatial groupings with confidence, planners required two main areas of knowledge. Firstly, they needed to understand the causes and consequences of trends or flows in activities that linked the settlements in the area. Secondly, they needed to understand the values and aspirations of the communities within that area. In order to challenge existing boundaries they needed experiential and explicit knowledge about the communities, and a wider logic about the purpose of a spatial grouping. When wider functional relationships that crossed the border of the Northamptonshire region were considered, it was particularly hard to create a vision of a possible new spatial grouping. A strong vision of common benefits provided supporting 'integrative logic' for some potential cross-border groupings. In these cases the spatial grouping remained abstract and the planners did not have a store of knowledge of the 'other community'. This appeared to be a very strong restraint on the collaborative group's thinking and certainly acted as a barrier to developing shared ideas about new spatial groupings.

6.6 Shared planning subjects – stage 2

In collaborative planning the subject matter needs to be shared, and the content of the Core Spatial Strategy 2008 was summarised into seven 'shared planning subjects' (diagram 6.5) for stage 1. This section discusses how planners learned about each planning subject at stage 2. It begins with some comments about how subjects were shared by collaborators. This section begins by reflecting on the role of knowledge forms and communication modes in the first workshop. Next it describes how the review team built knowledge, in the run up to and during the second workshop.

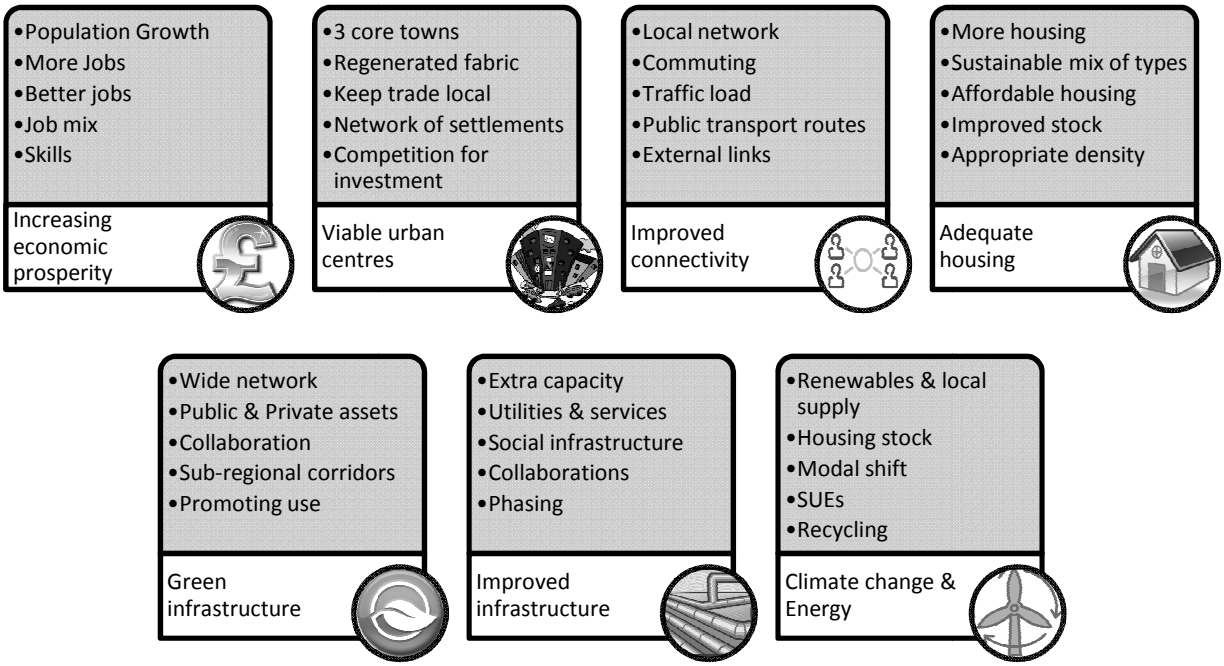


Diagram 6.5: Shared planning subjects as they were conceived at stage 1

Analysis of workshop 1 discussions showed that the original shared spatial subjects were mostly supported, and the planning collaboration still intended to: increase local jobs; diversify the labour market; support education and training; promote inter-area retail linkages; create a sub-regional network around the three core towns; improve connectivity between the core towns; strengthen the supply of affordable housing; invest in green infrastructure; and invest in other types of infrastructure. These broader principles remained intact, nonetheless there was some reframing. Economic prosperity and green infrastructure were fully embraced and the discussions added strength and spatial reality to the existing policy positions. The idea of improved infrastructure was not challenged, but there were some gaps in understanding about its physical or policy manifestation, which raised concerns. The focus on urban centres was challenged and the importance of inter-area linkages was also reduced. Policies related to climate change were developed although the principles of carbon reduction appeared to be a lesser priority than before.

There were significant difficulties in developing a shared position around the precise nature of increased housing (or even a shared view about reducing housing).

The new rationalities were established using professional and personal experiences. Sometimes quantitative data was required to legitimise a position and other times it was not. Information and process knowledge about current service provision, knowledge of wider business and governance relationships helped rework priorities. Abstract ideas and very specific ideas for local solutions were not effective at reworking subjects, but connections between objectives and knowledge of community views helped support new rationales. Creating a sub-regional picture was essential and this worked especially well when ideas could be mapped out. Alternatively they could be supported by rich details of daily life. The rest of this section covers each spatial subject in turn, describing what and how the collaborative group was learning at the second workshop, before drawing conclusions.

The sub-regional trends which related to the subject of **'economic prosperity'** in the first workshop, were industrial decline, attempts to tackle it through regeneration, particularly in the North of the sub-region, and untapped potential. At the second workshop the policy intentions became more explicit, for instance disrupting external functional dependence of 'the rural spine' (i.e. the string of small settlements in northern East Northamptonshire that relied on Peterborough rather than any town in North Northamptonshire). Possible effects of such dependencies became more prominent to the debates as undesirable patterns, particularly the flight of young people from the sub-region. By focusing on the economic causes and effects of such patterns, new strategic ideas emerged around building cooperative chains along the rural spine and harnessing internal, site-specific opportunities, such as better use of Rockingham Speedway.

'Urban centres' had been noted as a subject for attention, partly due to concerns about site-specific regeneration needs. This subject was also a vehicle for sub-regional coherence and allowed the group to perceive gaps in urban amenities as an issue of 'internal complementarity' and 'total offer' for the sub-region. Settlements were not just seen as having 'individual' difficulties, e.g. low level of sports and entertainment in Corby, but contributing to sub-regional concerns. At this stage inter-relationships between local areas had been noted and the need to link up the core towns repeatedly mentioned. The group was able to focus and identify patterns of services, such as potential flows of people through the sub-region. This deepened the established picture of functional relationships and helped understand the benefits of patterns, for instance where a wider market could be tapped through a more strategic approach to the network of centres.

With regards to **'adequate housing'**, possible housing patterns across the sub-region were scrutinised for the different 'spatial options'. In particular, break-out groups were asked to consider how smaller settlements sat alongside others and whether new housing might be distributed in such a way as to maximise the employment and services that would be accessible to them. They gave feedback for example about new build in Rushden, Irthlingborough and Higham Ferrers, and their possible contribution to the sub-region in terms of total housing numbers and commuting.

While collaborators discussed possible patterns of housing, they were very aware of the practical realities implied for delivery, particularly administrative barriers. When looking at maps and diagrams, the groups noted where housing might *not* be built rather than where there were opportunities to build. It seemed this kind of map work encouraged a personal rather than a collaborative viewpoint. That is to say that the wider benefits of any new development were overshadowed by the idea that they would happen in a particular authority areas. Eventually, the notion of 'organic growth' became more prominent. This was characterised as incremental, small adjustments rather than larger strategic changes, and had been noted at the previous workshop e.g. "organic growth of villages … plan for clusters of villages sharing services" (NNJPU 2010, p.98).

Possible constellations of settlements were also associated with **'connectivity'** and, at the option building stage, transport patterns were relatively easy to represent spatially. In addition the group found it relatively easy to relate policy to patterns. A notable example was the major new transport policy idea from Northamptonshire County Council, 'the ARC', which served as a stimulus for many discussions around strategic transport patterns. By working through the implications of investment in communications across Northamptonshire, the group considered the relative value to the sub-region of strong West-East links, i.e. rather than those running North-South. This helped them develop shared strategic position, for example that connecting to rural areas were a high priority or that there should be less focus on links to London.

The subject matter of **'green infrastructure'** appeared to lend itself to learning, and involved strategic flows of people, goods and services, as well as physical and environmental infrastructure patterns. The group easily identified the human purposes of functional links with the urban environment, constructing a "distinct green infrastructure network within and around the towns for people to move in and get to the areas" (Researcher 2010c, p4). Possible tactical connections for sites were identified, both between urban and rural, e.g. connecting Rushden to the River Nene, and between swathes of rural land and major waterways (see appendix D, option 2). They easily identified what conditions would be necessary, particularly the need for involvement of other people to have a comprehensive strategy.

'Improved infrastructure' was a separate topic, related to strategic provisions for physical and social services and amenities. Discussions of physical infrastructure were centred on deliverability and funding, rather than spatial patterns. Since potential sites for new housing were still being determined, and infrastructure was seen as serving these, an abstract condition for any 'growth areas'. Patterns of services and amenities (such as the constellation of entertainment provision) were part of the discussions and the planners said that a review was needed "of the existing urban structure to ensure they are working efficiently" (Review Project Team 2010c, p.4). Discussions about social infrastructure were a little more concrete but did not have a strong spatial logic. Social infrastructure (i.e. satisfying demand for community amenities such as parks and centres) appeared more as a contribution to other strategic objectives than having its own purpose, for example where green infrastructure could be part of a strategy for health inequalities. In short, learning was focused on the strategic approach for improving physical infrastructure and the contribution of social infrastructure to other objectives.

'Energy and climate change' was the final subject area, and a strategic approach had been quite well developed in the previous workshop, i.e. developing renewable energy sources. Physical patterns were examined at the rural workshops and sites were linked to economic development, e.g. by pin pointing several opportunities in rural areas "Waste to Energy/Wind power at Chelveston" (NNJPU & ACRE 2010, p.39). These were not isolated cases, but developments that could link to other urban areas as part of a strategic pattern across the sub-region. Suggestions included building on an existing wind farm near Burton Latimer to enable a renewable energy park that could "enhance environmental skills in North Northamptonshire" (NNJPU & ACRE 2010, p.12) and also improve the relationship between that town and Kettering.

Overall then, having a shared sub-regional view on a subject area seemed to enable learning. It acted as a touchstone for the group to elaborate around dynamic flows of people, resources and services. It was only possible to translate what was learned into possible policy when it was understood as part of a spatial pattern. More importantly, understanding the causes of patterns allowed the group to specify the conditions that would be required for the new strategy to work. Conceptualising the area as a whole functioning region appeared particularly helpful, but this may be due to the actors present[7]. Representing options visually for the entire sub-region was the preferred way of working, and actors communicated through doodles to represent things visually even when talking them through. These sketches were often transferred directly to the next iteration of the draft option.

[7] As noted at the end of the previous section, presence of actors from the areas being discussed encouraged confident strategising.

6.7 Policy domains – stage 2

This section seeks to explain the impact of different types of policy domains on learning about spatial options. At stage 2 the subjects under consideration tended to span multiple policy domains. The JPU were concerned primarily with core 'shared planning subjects' but collaborators had different areas of focus. Actors had their own individual approaches to strategy, influenced by their experiences of policy making. This section begins with the overlap between policy areas, and then discusses the forms of knowledge in cross-policy learning. Lastly, it examines the learning associated with cross-policy knowledges and the implications for strategy-making.

So far this thesis has noted that some policy domains appear to have particular properties. As well as their own subjects of interest, they appear to contain strong internal 'driving logics' such as health promotion or economic progress. Their purposes are not directly linked to spatial considerations but they have an indirect link because they share a concern for improving people's lives. For the group being studied, some domains appeared to be especially dominant. The internal logic of those domains could serve as justification in spatial discussions more easily than those of other domains. Nonetheless, the logic of most policy domains (employment, economy, ecology, environment, heritage, health, housing, industry etc.) affected planners' thinking about the use of space and physical resources, and some even became part of spatial policy.

At stage 1, it was observed that policy domains fed into each other, working together towards domain objectives. At stage 2, it was found that certain domains had more or less policy range and dominance. This can be summarised as follows. Culture, health and transport fed easily into a few other policy areas providing new ideas and or spatial insight to an issue. By contrast environmental and economic domains were very broad, touching on most issues and dominating the overall approach to strategy. The economic domain tended to divert from physical spatiality. The environmental domain was frequently referenced in order to add weight to ideas emanating from other domains. These points are of interest in themselves, but for this thesis the relevance is simply that these domains overlapped and that knowledge was introduced from one domain into another. As discussed below, these overlaps tended to require explicit explanations in order to be useful in strategy-making.

Policy overlaps tended to focus on conceived space in Lefebvrian terms, and drew on systematised approaches to subject matter. Workshop groups used abstracted terminologies from different policy domains, and abstracted conceptual views of space. In these situations, terminologies lost the contextual knowledge that would normally accompany them within their originating policy domains. So, for example transport knowledge directed thinking towards large structural issues and

conceptualised patterns. These were lacking policy detail from the originating domain and did not include a sense of lived experience.

Other knowledge forms were needed to reach a point where spatial policies could be determined. Knowledge of local values helped to substantiate discussions and knowledge of local experience helped to debate the impacts of policy. To continue with the example of transport, 'choice of transport' indicated provision of different multiple types of transport, rather than a detailed look at the nature of transport choices, such as the routes taken by passengers. Similarly, access to employment sites was built into the thinking, and diagrams of out-commuting patterns generally came up as part of discussions of 'employment'. In this example, site access and direction of flows were about commuters as an abstract concept, rather than the experiential details of working lives.

Implicit knowledge transferred between domains appeared to be inadequate for actually reviewing the core strategy. Discussions seemed to use the symbols of the originating policy domain, such as transport patterns, employment figures etc., but without their full persuasive power. Such cross-policy knowledge was useful for expressing and introducing different policy concepts, but it appeared less useful for strategic thinking or scenario building as they could became abstracted.

The abstracted discussions were sometimes made more concrete. Collaborators either had contextual detail in mind, or were aware of associated political concerns. A good example was the discussion of the business logistics corridors along the A14 and A45. These routes provided an opportunity for the strategic distribution industry, which was growing in the sub-region. As discussed earlier the strategic distribution industry was a major issue and therefore associated with jobs potential and local concerns about the aesthetics of warehousing. It could not simply be seen as a transport network but had to be understood as a 'lived space' with historical and local layers of meaning. Similarly, conversations focusing on employment policies would typically include details of 'spatial practice'. Collaborators drew on their own personal experience to add 'values' to the discussions. They could not ignore their own sense of the daily realities of a commute or knowledge of the human impact of being out of work.

Domains that were identified are: business & retail; community services & facilities; crime & safety; demography; ecology; education; employment; environment; health; heritage; residential property; strategic services & facilities; transport[8]. The rest of this section describes how each one was manifest in the option for spatial plans emerging at stage 2. This demonstrates that the domains

[8] There were other areas e.g. agriculture and energy, but they did not suggest any new findings so for brevity and consistency they are not included.

were all integrated into the final drafts (i.e. final for this stage) and each one had a particular effect on learning.

Logic from most of the listed policy domains was specifically used to justify the spatial options. 'Crime & safety' did not figure at all, possibly because those issues were hard to visualise in the drawings. By contrast, 'strategic services & facilities' seemed to be entwined with particular spatial options. This can be seen for example where the 'twin-pole option' suggested an "inter-urban and intra-urban loop within each Pole for connectivity - incorporating SUEs [sustainable urban extensions]" (Review Project Team 2010b, p.34). Such intrinsic links between policy domains were not validating strategy *per se*, but constructed as the logical extension of a given spatial option. By contrast, sometimes 'non-spatial' logic from policy domains was specifically used to help create spatial options. Examples of that use of cross-domain knowledge are listed below, followed by a discussion of the implications. Citations are taken from the formal record (ibid) and diagrams of the options are given in Appendix D.

- Business & Retail The regeneration of Wellingborough in the Southern Focus option was seen as logical retail strategy whereby it could "pitch itself as a new market town for the 21st century (as per origins) with focus to east"
- Community Services & Facilities Kettering had been seen as lacking in social infrastructure which strengthened the argument for the Twin Pole option having Corby and Kettering with strategic complimentary functions and a "new Kettering North hub for relocating sports facilities, possibly health, and possibly a new music venue"
- Demography Generational inter-dependencies and intergenerational links were recognised when considering a shared housing supply. Patterns across the sub-region were scrutinized, taking into account demographic characteristics of communities and future populations.
- Ecology The connection between woodland and the attractiveness of North Northamptonshire was well established by this point and so an option could "use woodland cover as a feature as to why people would want to live in North Northamptonshire."
- Education It was suggested that Higher Sports Education could be encouraged to turn the sub-region into a centre of sport, and capitalise on local 'adrenaline activities' (such as race car driving) and recent additions to sporting facilities, for a sports-oriented economic strategy.
- Employment Attracting employment was embedded as a core element of the logic of each of the final strategies. Arguments for each option rested in part on how it might bring employment: the 'ARC[9]' option would support the Eurohub; the Northern focus would improve areas of post-

[9] Based on an arc of transport investment from Northampton upwards in a north-east direction

industrial economic decline; the Twin Poles option would tackle the dependency on Northampton for jobs; the Core Strategy Plus option would bring more rural jobs.

- Environment The Northern Focus option targeted development to the north and with Rockingham forest in the north there was "a good renewables story" to justify how economic benefits could accrue to the region as part of a strategy around a "renewable technologies portfolio and environmental technology and industry", for example with a carbon sink forest.
- Health The Core Strategy Plus option continued to argue for development in the three core towns and talked about spreading investment in health centres to allow dispersal of health benefits "with changing technology and access to acute functions".
- Heritage The potential to promote or support heritage was highlighted as part of the regeneration and economic strategy in all of the options, e.g. the ARC's transit focus was seen as a way to open up to the local heritage "link the tourist heritage line up Peterborough".
- Residential property The logic of housing policy was crucial in constructing an argument for sustainable urban extensions, which were a central feature of the Core Strategy Plus option.
- Transport The ARC was entirely transport focused and built on arguments for strategic routes and the possibility of having local transport improvements such as the "link to King's Cliffe (as a Rural Service Centre) which addresses the lack of services in the NE of the County"

In summary, knowledges from different policy domains were explicitly used to justify options and there were different ways that this promoted learning. Some domains could be referenced to support an option, e.g. through process knowledge. Some provided support where their logic was adopted wholesale e.g. the preventative health care benefits of promoting active lives as part of a sub-regional strategy towards modal shift (away from car-dependency). Others were less directly applicable but could lend some detail to flesh out an option. Such additions helped create believable models, that could be accepted by the group as realistic or feasible and therefore gain traction in discussions.

Two domains crossed over into others more strongly than most. Specifically, the environmental and economic domains provided knowledge for each option being built. However, this did not necessarily help the group understand the value of an option to the sub-region, only as a relative trade off for local authority areas or environmental goals. Such knowledge was useful but had significant limits. For example, sometimes the trade-offs were the same in every option, where each one could provide a new source of employment or support the environment. In effect there was a 'marginal utility' of learning about trade-offs. They could help determine which option brought the greatest overall basket of benefits but even so, other impacts had to be taken into account.

6.8 Conclusion: the production of spatial planning knowledge

At stage 2 professional and political formal collaborators were working on options prior to intensive community engagement efforts. This chapter examined their joint learning, the contextual factors and the dynamics that supported or detracted from the production of new strategic spatial options. The findings show that planners need an array of knowledge for strategy, and that this must be explicitly validated and 'looped' into the thinking, e.g. by finding a relevance to a spatial option. The focus of their work evolved around three terms and their layered meanings. They are growth, sustainability and self-sufficiency and box 6.2 summarises how they were understood at stage 2. Points that feed forward to answering the research questions are listed in box 6.3 at the end.

'Growth' was the key issue driving the workshop activities and, as described at stage 2, growth had two main facets, population growth and economic growth. Population growth was debated as a spatial issue, i.e. in terms of its impacts on development in North Northamptonshire. Taken simply as phenomenon that would occur over the period of the plan, population growth had implications for local various 'offers' (services and amenities), place quality and land use. Controlling the pace and scale of population growth was seen as a strategic spatial tactic. Economic growth was seen as a necessary corollary of population growth, but it also existed independently of any increase in population.

Place quality and amenities issues were described as **'sustainability'** aspects of growth, demonstrating the agreement across the group about maintaining or improving current levels. Services would need to be increased to ensure the continued suitability of facilities for the local population. They included existing schools and transport for an increased population, and any demand for extended services. Quality of place related for example to the likely housing densities that might be required. Placement of new developments, including transport and retail facilities, was touched on. JPU was keen to spur on discussions about possible sites for development and broad brush-stroke possibilities.

At the same time as considering the impacts of growth as a given, the group was also dealing with how to manage the scale of growth, phasing and strategy. As they reflected on the different impacts of different paces of growth they also started to discuss various strategic directions. Using the IT analogy for software releases 1.2 with minor changes or 2.0 with major changes they considered how different versions of the Core Strategy might work in practice.

One dominant concern was how **'self-sufficient'** the sub-region could be, that is to say whether it could provide sufficient services and jobs as well as housing for future populations and reduce the dependency of people locally on more distant centres for higher order functions (e.g. admin, educational, social and cultural). Some key goals derived from the search for greater self-sufficiency such as the need to focus on employment and service provision within the area. Those goals worked against options that built on external relationships, where linkages outside North Northamptonshire would be more critical (e.g. for jobs and retail).

Much of the debate around self-sufficiency centred on notions of spatial efficiency, the terminology used for this was 'Higher Order Functions'. These served the whole sub-region with large scale facilities and services (e.g. a large hospital or university), and might attract people to the area. Efficiency gains were of interest (e.g.) for cultural activities or 'social infrastructure' and a reputation for performing arts, local heritage, cultural and sporting events. Deliberations mainly surrounded its potential to enhance 'quality of place' (quality of life in the area) but the group thought there was potential to co-locate cultural activities so as to service the whole area with additional or larger scale facilities than currently exist due to lack of critical mass.

Box 6.2: 'Understanding Places' Workshop, themes of growth, sustainability & self-sufficiency

Learning within collaborative spatial planning appears to involve a culture of multiple proofs for any policy decision. Data pertaining to different subject matter, and emanating from different policy areas, are used to substantiate claims. Some of these are political such as the 'evidence' of alignment to other existing policy documents. Others offer a scientific grounding for policy, particularly frequentist[10] statistics. In this case, there was clearly a formal responsibility to provide an evidence-base outlined by the national government, and this duty encouraged the evidence culture described. Policy alignment and statistical datasets were useful, but insufficient for taking decisions. The group continued to seek greater certainty. Further contributions were sought in order to justify policy positions. It was hoped that these would create a 'better array' of different types of knowledge.

The case study supports the arguments in the current literature on spatial planning (see chapter 3) that spatial patterns of physical and dynamic flows of people, resources and services are an essential area of understanding. Knowledge of patterns was strongly linked to knowledge of scales. Different scales were connected through spatial patterns. Patterns across the sub-regional scale were the initial focus of review, but knowledge of local, regional and wider patterns were essential to understanding sub-regional dynamics.

Knowledge of the subject matter of spatial planning covered many policy areas and gave a 'whole area' picture of existing trends and possible future patterns. Rationale from different domains helped build justifications for the predictions and policy responses. Some domains provided a new approach or logic to a problem or to a solution. Other policy areas provided a sense of reality or appropriateness, with extra detail. Economic and employment policy domains could flesh out options and but their rationale was not always helpful. Those policy domains could be too dominant and as a result would centre on an unproductive comparison of options, rather than helping develop options or the approach taken to a problem. Planning knowledge needed to link to political factors and lived space to make sense to the collaborative group and provide sufficient justification for policy directions.

Existing and possible future patterns were envisioned and fleshed out, but their relevance to the strategy had to be established by the collaborative group. Relevance was derived from knowledge about causes and requirements of spatial patterns. Some of that knowledge came from personal and professional experiences within the collaborative group. In addition, knowledge of ambitions and goals at many different scales was important, since these provided 'evidence' of support for a sub-

[10] Statistical estimates and models drawing on probabilities of frequency often presented as 'unquestionable fact' e.g. population growth figures.

regional direction, or the lack of support. In the main, policies from wider scales (the regional and national levels) were available for that but there was no equivalent at the local level. In this type of learning, 'the physical' was overlaid with other knowledge around relevance, priorities and actors who might be affected, but there was no representation for the subsidiary scales. Thus, as subject matter was developed, an image of the relevant type of community engagement was emerging and informing the debate.

A new approach to constituencies emerged that was linked to spatial patterns, and informed by the actors who were formally involved. These 'spatial constituencies' were either needs-based constituencies with a pool of shared common resources, or goals-based constituencies who had common aspirations. Planners built a picture of needs based communities with an understanding of the causes and consequences of social trends. This type of learning had an internal tension; the patterns being considered represented communities of interest without boundaries of scale or administration but were discussed by those who formally represented communities within those boundaries.

All of these points suggest there is a particular mode of building knowledge and learning that enables spatial planning. It is a process of dealing with a vast array of complex interlocking factors. These factors are disaggregated and re-aggregated as a means of testing assumptions about patterns. Ideas about patterns are passed through the reality checking 'prisms' of looking at different conceived and lived space as well as different scales and constituencies.

The shared strategic thinking in this case was enabled by the structure provided by options. They presented several permutations of the sub-regional strategy that could be taken as a whole rather than just considering individual decisions within a strategy. When a coherent view of a given option has been established, it created the conditions for a group to focus on the details of the patterns and the opportunities they might afford. Building details was more than fleshing out the options and in fact provided a type of testing. 'Fine grain' learning about smaller areas (geographical or topic areas) needed to be fed back into the more unified picture of the sub-region in order to have meaning. Likewise, rationale from individual actors and policy areas could also be considered, but had to be integrated back into a wider body of knowledge and an internally consistent sub-regional rationale.

In this case the process of 'testing' also had iterations of collaborator perspective. Knowledge seems to be affected not only by those currently involved in the debate, but also by those who might be impacted and who might therefore need to be involved in future. Collaboration was deepened with face-to-face work, which re-enforced thinking and provided encouragement to be take new or

ground breaking strategic measures (rather than small incremental steps). Experiential knowledge was very important, but there appeared to be limits to the usefulness of simply increasing the number of perspectives. The crucial perspectives were those that provided explanatory or political insight. Sensitivity to the concerns of present collaborators created some psychological barriers to learning. Planners' confidence in talking about future collaborators was low if they did not know their priorities. Such barriers appear to result in 'creative block' in strategic thinking.

Overall, this suggests that knowledge evolves continually through loops of learning as follows. Planning knowledge is driven by a desire to test 'realities' of potential policy directions. Planners seek ever stronger justifications and confidence in policy directions. They attempt this through expansion of their shared store of knowledge. Spatial planning ideas can come from different scales and policy domains but they require a series of 'checks'. Relevant knowledge is that which can be iteratively looped into the group thinking, or integrated as planning knowledge. Physical presence of actors who are 'sources' of evidence and visual representation of evidence both help to loop knowledge into the group thinking. All of this suggests there is a paradox around planning knowledge. A strategy needs relevant new knowledge but what is relevant is determined by who and what the strategy currently involves. It is not possible to be aware of what is not known. In order to address this problem, new contributions are continually sought. There are limitations to this process, in particular where current perspectives, geographical areas and professional specialism dominate the group thinking. In light of this, lay knowledge could be useful since, in theory, it is unbounded by scale or profession and might provide a broader view of relevant new knowledge. The next chapter reflects on this point, as it examines stage 3 of the review, where the JPU planners and their collaborators engage directly with residents of North Northamptonshire.

Key points from stage 2 – knowledge & learning prior to community engagement

SRQ 3 Types of spatial rationalities before community engagement

- Rationalities at the local, sub-regional and national scales
- New conceptualisations of the sub-region and what areas constitute it
- A notion of interdependencies of settlements in different areas
- The logic of seeking collaboration with actors from across different areas
- Contextual feasibility, relevance to spatial area

SRQ 4 Means of reframing within the formal planning collaboration

- Iterative testing and visual representation of all new information and knowledge
- Introducing new collaborators to the group work
- Shared logic between place, spatial subjects or policy areas
- Narrowing, abstracting & aligning information

SRQ 5 Types of spatial elements that were considered by spatial planners

- Patterns of settlements, services and activities across the sub-region
- Human impacts, or the effect of changes or lack of changes on the lives of those in the area
- Boundaries, or administrative geographic cut-off points
- Higher scales & functions, or larger areas, services, amenities or activities

SRQ 6 Policy factors prior to community involvement

- External goals & collaborator policies
- A positive culture of community engagement
- Wide scale / cross-boundary subject matter

Box 6.3: Stage 2 analysis in relation to primary & secondary research questions

Chapter 7: Learning through community engagement

7.1 The 'Issues Consultation' Events

As discussed in chapter 2, 'the Community' represents a distinct set of lay actors and planning approaches must recognise its plurality. There are particular concerns around the involvement of the community in spatial planning, and a different approach to involving the community, as compared with other sets of actors. The last two chapters have set out the prevailing culture of community engagement in North Northamptonshire (chapter 5), as well as the evolving premises and preparatory work for community engagement (chapter 6). This chapter moves on to look at the North Northamptonshire community, and the nature of their involvement in the review. It uses data from embedded observation to assess the learning from this instance of community engagement in strategic spatial planning. All quotations from the community are taken from the researcher's own field notes, and have been anonymised.

In practice, community engagement is an integral part of spatial planning and, under certain conditions, communities can alter the course of policy and influence decision-making. The purpose of this study of community engagement in spatial planning is to better understand the contribution of the community to the production of *planning knowledge*. As discussed in chapter 2, collaborative learning is theoretically 'social learning', and learning with the community is hypothesised here as 'socio-spatial learning'. The distinction is that the community is contributing to conceptual learning specifically about space (see chapter 4 for a fuller discussion). This chapter examines the direct face-to-face, planner-community dialogue within the North Northamptonshire Core Strategy Review and analyses the learning at this stage. Looking at the engagement as a separate stage follows the timeline (shown as 'stage 3' in diagram 7.1) that has been used in previous chapters and allows this chapter to focus on what is learned at the community engagement stage.

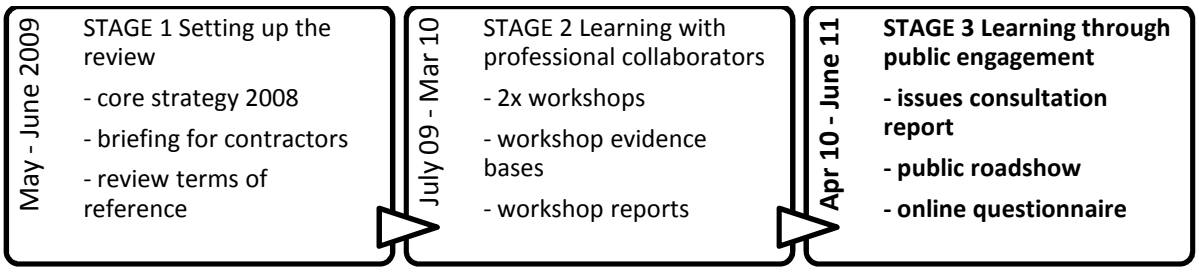


Diagram 7.1: Community engagement as 'stage 3' of the review process

The six conceptual elements – major issues, actors & scales, community engagement, planning evidence, shared planning subjects, and policy domains – are presented in a different order, which is

better suited to this stage and with community engagement as the first element. Section 7.2 describes the modes of engagement. Next, actors & scales and shared planning subjects are assessed in sections 7.3 and 7.4. The subsequent sections consider how the subject matter discussed by the actors relates to policy domains (section 7.5) and evidence (section 7.6). After the other elements have been discussed, learning around major issues is assessed (section 7.7). Conclusions surround the rationalities and reframing of knowledge together with communities.

7.2 Community engagement - stage 3

There was some public engagement at stage 2 but it was indirect, conducted through intermediary organisations during related activities (see chapter 6 for details). Review work at stage 3 was focused on engaging the community and there was substantial direct interaction between the JPU and the public. There was a general election in 2010 and, although most business continued as usual, public engagement events were delayed to avoid the election time[1]. However, soon after the installation of the new government the Joint Planning Unit (JPU) began preparation for community involvement. This was focused on issues and possible directions for options, and left the actual selection of options until later on in 2011. That final stage is not required for this research (see chapter 4 for a discussion of this point).

Initial work targeted younger people, in the hopes of discussing 'next generation issues'. There were strong concerns about detachment of younger cohorts from the planning debates. Workshops were held with 6th formers in September 2010 and an 'action pack' of materials was developed from that work, which could be used during other dialogues. This fed into more direct dialogue with the general public about the future of the area, structured around the issues that had been identified so far in the core strategy review.

Picture 7.1: Rushden, Feb 2011, researcher's own photo

The main strand of engagement was a 'Road Show' held across the sub-region at a travelling stall manned by the JPU Representatives. The Road Show was designed for all members of the public to participate. An 'Issues Report' was developed as the starting point for debate, together with a set of questions. The report and the questions were transposed into various formats. Paper and online versions were

[1] According to the convention of political 'purdah', or suspension of activity, that stems from the tradition of self-imposed restriction on taking decisions in the run up to a general election. It starts at the dissolution of parliament and continues until a few weeks after the all new posts are allocated. By extension all public engagement activities are normally suspended in the lead up to for any election including local elections.

promoted at the stalls and wherever possible posed face-to-face. People had their feedback recorded on the stall posters to stimulate further discussions (picture 7.1) with other people and there was a 'postcards from the future competition' for children. The stall visited busy public spaces in the 12 largest settlements across the sub-region, between 23rd February and 17th March 2011.

It was hoped that the North Northamptonshire-wide promotion of Road Show events would bring a good representation of the community of the sub-region. Promotional materials were distributed across established networks, and not only by actors previously involved in the core strategy review (as described in previous chapters) but also by new ones such as Parish councils and public media. Advertisements went out on the local channels, including BBC Radio Northampton, Northants Evening Telegraph, smaller print publications and online channels, including: a bespoke 'portal' called @YourPlace; Twitter; Facebook; and YouTube.

Each road show event was well attended, and around 100 responses to the questionnaire and 200 entries for the 'postcards from the future competition' were returned. Using a strategy of approaching people from sampling 'cells' around age, employment and so on, the road show gathered contributions of a cross-section of people. Having considered census data on the sub-regional population and issues likely to be involved in the strategy, a 'definition of the community' was drawn up in preparation for the community engagement. The intention was to identify 'possible respondent types' that might be differently affected by the strategy and a range of people from large and small settlements across the sub-region took part particularly through the road show. Participants in the community engagement exercises do not however constitute a statistically representative sample of the population of North Northamptonshire, and in particular the response was strongly biased towards older generations in the questionnaire (diagram 7.2).

Responses came from across North Northamptonshire:

RESIDENCE	# RESPONSES
Burton Latimer	8
Corby	4
Desborough	4
Higham Ferrers	2
Kettering	2
Oundle	2
Raunds	7
Rushden	2
Thrapston	2
Wellingborough	13
57 responses from 25 villages in North Northants *= 11 in/border of ENC, 5 in BCW, 4 in CBC, 5 in KBC=* & 5 responses from unspecified villages	62

Answers from the "About You" section:

Age in 10-Year Bands	#	Disability	#	Occupation	#
16-24	1	Yes	10*	Employed	40
25-34	2	No	82	Self-emp at home	12
35-44	12			Self-emp at business	4
45-54	21			Home maker	8
55-64	33				
65+	26				
Total	***95***		***92***		***64***

**10.9% of respondents as compared with average 18% of UK population (Census data)*

Diagram 7.2: Response report for the consultation questionnaire, by 'sampling cell'

7.3 Community actors – stage 3

This section considers the community as an actor within the core strategy review process. It presents community engagement as a form of knowledge building and the community as a collaborator. It discusses both practical and theoretical definitions, and draws conclusions about the effect on spatial planning itself. In particular the breadth of collaboration for the review and the nature of knowledge in community collaboration are considered.

Defining the North Northamptonshire Community

The JPU saw community engagement as a type of collaboration, since the intention was to use input from the community together with input from other collaborators. In designing the outreach to the public, the team was conscious of common criticisms of public engagement (see section 2.2). They sought to remove practical barriers and encourage non-planners to take ownership of the tasks (overview in 7.1). As mentioned earlier, several forms of communication and presentation were used to help avoid technical and cognitive difficulties.

There were some practical similarities between the mode of engagement and that of other collaborators. Professional collaborators were also sought out by the Joint Planning Unit (JPU), presented with planning issues, and asked to provide responses within a defined space of time. For both lay and professional collaborators the type of participation was always controlled by the planners, in that there were specific issues, venues and timings. Pre-defined issues were always open to challenge in the discussions, throughout stages 2 and 3.

While the approach and mode of involvement might be equated with the involvement of the other actors, i.e. at stage 2, the community arguably had less preparation for the exercise. This meant that they had a steeper learning curve about spatial planning activities and required introductions to the purpose and subject matter, which the planning team provided with through maps and descriptions. Unlike many of the other collaborators, the JPU, Councils, contractors etc., they had had no previous contact with the JPU. They were also involved slightly later than others, albeit for logistical reasons.

Conceptually, the community differs from other actors in several ways. As an actor, the community is distinct from the other North Northamptonshire planning collaborators since its main role is ‘client of the plan’. In other words, it is the current end-user of any consequent development. It is also distinguished by being lay rather than professionally involved in governance, and as such it has no formal obligations towards the planning process and could if it wished remain on the whole outside the process.

As a stakeholder the community is more diffuse. It is impacted by the plan and can act as an agent for or against implementation, or not participate at all. However, only those people currently living in the sub-region can participate, as the engagement cannot practicably include others who might be considered end-users such as the next generation or future waves of inward migration. It is also by definition not institutionalised or existing in a pre-defined group.

So the actor commonly referred to as 'local stakeholders' or 'the community' is not a collective unit. In this case study, that point was demonstrated by the challenge of conceptualising and identifying people who could be said to represent the sub-regional community. The North Northamptonshire 'Community' was nominally sub-regional but practically speaking it consisted of actors from the most subsidiary scale. The JPU increasingly saw the community as a range of individual and sub-groups. At stage 1, the community was taken to represent the planning area of North Northamptonshire, but by stage 3 each member of the community was identified as sub-local, i.e. they were categorised by their settlement. In this way they could be confident that, as far as possible, at least each village and town had been given the opportunity to take part.

Although each participant in the core strategy review purportedly represented their settlement, there were many differences within and between settlements in terms of identity, and conflicts in opinions abounded, as demonstrated for example by the feedback around retail and transport in Burton Latimer. Some people felt their bus services were "good quality"[2] and others felt they were "overfull" and "unreliable"; some people felt there were "enough shops here to bring people from out of town" and others say they "need a broader range of shops".

Commonalities that bonded local community actors showed up in their feedback. Some people presented their comments as typical of their smaller community, e.g. business owners' concerns about the effect on trade of higher numbers of people who were "not permanent residents". Some felt that their 'type' of employment gave them particular insight, e.g. a lorry driver who said it was commonly recognised by his colleagues that "the A14 needs widening". These shared perspectives tacitly bonded individuals into types of actors. More explicit and formal groups such as community organisations also showed up in the review, intentionally representing their civil group. For example a local church representative said "the cost of renting halls is too much we need multi-functional facilities which are currently minimal".

People who were identified as representing a community group, whether through occupation, civil organisation or any of the sampling cells, were asked to help reach out to their peer group. The

[2] All quotations from the community are taken from the researcher's own field notes, and have been anonymised.

planners were keen to deepen these new collaborations and had designed 'business cards' that could be handed out to others, with their web addresses and other contact details. Community actors were keen to help with this 'snowball sampling' method, and collected bundles of work packs to distribute. Others sent contacts to the road show stands or directed them to the online questionnaire, as evidenced by the clusters of residents identified as living in the same small village. Only a few instances of discarded materials were found, suggesting that there were some satisficing[3] respondents but most were genuinely interested.

Collaborative work with the community

Community collaborators contributed distinctive input. Substantive description is given in the following sections, but, briefly speaking, knowledge from public engagement can be characterised as having more detail and local area specificity than other input. Discussions surrounded qualitative and descriptive commentary, and they tended to relate knowledge more directly to possible plans and policies. The starting point was a 'lived' account of issues, in face-to-face discussions at the road show.

Where earlier consultations had been around selecting options, this roadshow was intended to produce a wide ranging discussion about local issues. There was some uncertainty about the feasibility of such dialogue with community, partly due to its novelty. Firstly, it was felt that any previous negative engagement experiences might compromise the exercise. Indeed, comments were made at the road show about poor relationships with planning bodies. Some residents, for example, felt let down by a lack of information on particular developments, e.g. "planning permission given for [medium scale residential development] no information about what is happening and nothing has been built". Others were very disillusioned with developments over the years, e.g. "infrastructure services and employment have lagged far behind and there does not appear to be any plan to redress the imbalance". There were many negative comments about the 'North Londonshire' marketing strategy. However, even where these conflicts arose, they did not prevent participation. On the contrary, they often led into discussions that were focused on the plan and ideas for spatial strategy, e.g. "We should attract new people from all over not just London. We don't like North Londonshire!"

[3] People wishing to appear willing to help, but not actually engaging with the material, and in this sort of instance typically so because of the time it would take to complete the questionnaires.

Secondly, it was assumed that there would be low awareness of plan-making practice, but it was not known whether this would discourage people from participating. In the event, there was a low level of process knowledge amongst the community. The planning system and authorities were not familiar to the community actors. Participants were not previously aware of the JPU at all and frequently dialogue began with an introduction of what constituted the sub-region 'North Northamptonshire' and the role of the JPU. Planning authorities were often conflated with other bodies and for example referred to as 'the council' or 'politicians'. Participants often asked if they could have lower taxes. However, all types of development issues, whether local or regional, were brought into discussions with the community. Low knowledge of the purpose and approach of the core strategy was either easily overcome or did not act as a barrier to the discussions.

Picture 7.2: Wellingborough Feb 2011, researcher's own photo

Thirdly, there were concerns anticipated by the JPU about the community's understanding of strategic frames, and how to get past a purely local view. In fact, participants engaged in discussions with little difficulty. They were able to discuss strategic issues as well as more site-specific matters. Sometimes people talked about very local matters such as needing "more facilities at [housing estate]". This was a common form of discussion but the community was also well able to debate wider issues. They debated conceptualised abstract, long-term sub-regional effects. For example people talked about improving the sub-regional economy "better jobs and we need to be more resilient to changes to the economy" and the need to "safeguard employment land". People related to wider scale impacts of policies, for instance transport policy effects where the "bypass has improved towns". They also talked about specific transit difficulties such as "[a central street] is dreadful for car parking- causes blockages". As the following quotes show, the community actors were able to discuss strategic approaches to growth as well as expressing particular concerns about localities.

"grow existing settlements more rather than trying to create new settlements"
"keeping [smaller settlement] as a small town with no more houses"
(researcher notes)

Whilst the community engaged with strategic concepts, their language and communication around such issues were diverse. Planners often used maps (see picture 7.2) to avoid jargon, but often needed to explain them too. Some planning terms such as 'brownfield' or 'regeneration' were used fairly frequently and naturally by participants. Often community actors spoke about planning strategy directly, for instance saying "I don't want out-of-town shopping". Other times lay views went through a type of 'translation' from 'lay expression' into 'planner speak'. For example, "town would benefit from more focus and less 'Tesco' development" was taken to mean less out-of town development, and 'doing something slowly' to mean that phasing would be required.

In this way, community engagement was able to cover a range of planning issues, including both systemic and site-specific issues. There was a lot of general advice about the "need to think holistically" and to avoid "tickboxes", i.e. not having a formulaic approach. Planners noted these and other more specific points for the record. However, they used their own terminology, for example "Neighbourhood Plans should be progressed at Rural Service Centre level" and "S106 agreements need to reflect the needs of [local area]".

In summary, the community was a collaborative actor but not as had been anticipated. Feedback from the engagement demonstrated that barriers did exist but did not prevent meaningful engagement. Possible language barriers were overcome with efforts on both sides, mainly with the community learning about the planning context and planners translating lay language into planning terminology. Community engagement had a distinctive contribution form, but with sensitivity planners could discuss personal, local, regional and strategic issues with community actors.

Learning with the community uncovered a diverse range of community voices. 'The community' as an actor was a less unified actor group than other collaborators, only sub-regional in a conceptual way, and characterised most practically through localities. In general, local people did not initially identify with the sub-region and had not encountered the idea of a 'North Northamptonshire area'. Community actors identified themselves with their localities or interest groups including some possible new collaborations.

It is worth noting that although the above summary is fairly positive, people's sentiments about the engagement were varied. Some had great expectations of the engagement and requested detailed communication or feedback on particular issues, for instance one person stated that they were looking for "assurance that no houses or shops are to be built on surrounding land". Others were

hesitant about their input saying e.g. “I’m not qualified” and asking what the planners thought should happen. Nonetheless a lot of community contributions were made.

Perceptions of constituencies

Chapter 6 concluded that types of ‘spatial constituencies’ were envisaged by the collaborative actors at stage 2. These were constructed around ideas about common spatial issues, specifically common resources, aspirations and inter-dependencies. This section examines the learning associated with these ‘spatial constituencies’ through grass roots level participation.

Sub-regional planning by the JPU was premised on a new constituency, with collective spatial governance for four separate local authority areas, the Boroughs of Corby, Kettering, Wellingborough and East Northamptonshire. As noted above, this designation was not initially recognised by local people, and the North Northamptonshire community was united as a sub-region only conceptually, and only by the JPU and its collaborators. Some members of the community bonded through their place of residence and others identified themselves with a civil organisation or occupational grouping. Community participation in the review was an attempt to bring community actors from across the sub-region together in a learning exercise.

Local people were able to embrace the idea of the sub-region and consider issues that spanned the sub-region. Although people were most keen to talk about their local town or village, some specifically embraced the idea of North Northamptonshire as a spatial unit. They said for example “North Northants should be a unitary council (i.e. merge ENC, Corby, Kettering and Wellingborough) which would not only be more cost effective but enable ‘joined-up’ action”[4] and “joint thinking across North Northants as all areas benefit”. There were also negative reactions to the suggestion of a sub-region when it was conflated with unrelated planning experiences such as the ‘North Londonshire’ campaign, rather than that area *per se*. On the whole, local sentiment about the sub-region can best be characterised as neutral and only existing for the purposes of the consultation.

Feedback tended to focus on existing constituencies, and particularly the detail of local needs. However, planners asked probing questions about the wider sub-region and then people began to talk about the wider areas around their home town or village as part of the ‘place’ they lived. They would include settlements outside the sub-region, when discussing elements of quality in their own areas. For example, some Wellingborough residents expressed their need to access wider Northamptonshire, as though it was integral to the sub-region. They felt they should be able to get

[4] As noted earlier, quotes from community actors are taken from the researcher’s fieldnotes and anonymised.

to Northampton easily, and said there should be “safer footpaths and cycle ways” to that town. They also insisted that buses were too expensive costing “£20 for a family to get to Northampton”.

In the main, local people construed inter-related areas by thinking about accessing existing services in other areas. People from across the sub-region expressed strong and specific statements about needing to access services elsewhere. They talked of schools in Barton Seagrave for Burton Latimer children; shopping in Corby for Thrapston and Desborough; and colleges in Kettering and Corby for Raunds. These ideas were often expressed with reference to changes over time, e.g. “villages of the Welland Valley looked traditionally, before Corby was built, to Market Harborough for work and shopping”. Compared to the constituencies suggested at stage 2, this was a more practical style of constructing a constituency area, and bounded by practical knowledge of interactions between areas and historical details of changing provision.

Most community actors found it hard to be specific about where there could be new clusters of settlements, but easily elaborated on conditions for the success of such a development. Data from the questionnaire showed that, when asked directly about how rural areas could work together, they felt it was a good idea but would need further consideration. Only one specific suggestion was given; “Rockingham, Gretton, Harringworth”. Instead, responses surrounded the factors that should be borne in mind. They said for example, “this would need to be based around villages which have a lot in common and look to the same centres regardless of county/district boundaries”, and that it was “likely to work best if generated by bottom-up thinking on how any clusters should be comprised, rather than top-down planning, taking account of historic loyalties/rivalries etc.”.

Spatial constituencies tended to be narrowly construed, and they had denser links within them. As already noted above, community actors drew heavily on personal experience. This included other people’s experiences. People within their local community, and their experiences, were taken into account, for example the needs of groups of relations or social groups. Links were construed across narrow areas and were strongly rooted within these groups. The spatial configurations of personal relationships (i.e. who lived where and how they could connect with each other or act together) formed a large part of the thinking around most topics, but a range of other relationships and interactions were also part of discussions.

Community actors recognised and articulated the needs of diverse communities, and argued that “‘soft infrastructure’ needs recognising and celebrating, and promoting more where it doesn’t exist”. This was demonstrated when people spoke on behalf of others. The main local groups identified were: younger people; those in the lower income brackets; and the oldest age groups. There were

repeated comments, for example, about there being “no facilities for young adults (16,17,18, etc.)”. The need for ‘affordable housing’ and accompanying services was also strongly stated, e.g. “bus services required for the new affordable housing that is currently being finalised in [village]”. Young car drivers argued for “better access to the countryside for older people and non car users”. Those living in urban areas spoke of the needs of their surrounding rural areas, for instance saying “there are poor bus services from rural areas to Corby”.

Other types of constituencies, rather than spatial area groupings, were perceived by the community where people were brought together by common issues, such as the environment or economy of an area. For example, people commonly stated that their area needed ‘more jobs’, and occasionally people also spoke about the general ‘economy’. However this was less strongly stated and it did not relate to Northamptonshire or to a particular group of settlements specifically.

On the whole, learning about constituencies was integrative, concerned with bonding, and conducted for small scales. Discussions about specific constituencies centred on communities’ own settlements and others in close proximity. Wider connections perceived between settlements resulted in more ‘practical’ constituencies. Regional constituencies were not strongly stated by communities, but occasionally conceptualised or articulated. Concepts such as improving the economy or protecting the natural environment demonstrated local values, but also brought to light a wider a-scalar ‘community’ in the minds of the local residents.

Learning about Scalar Links

Involving a range of actors from sub-regional, regional and national organisations helped planners to identify strategic ‘inter-scalar connections’ at the workshops prior to community engagement. Communities were expected to represent other more subsidiary scales. This section looks at the discussions with the community in relation to scale. It shows that rather than being passively local, communities helped planners build knowledge of inter-scalar linkages.

Many inter-scalar links suggested at stage 3 were locally grounded, that is to say they were based on what existed locally rather than an idea of sub-regional impacts. Communities were able to focus for example on the local impact of larger scale transport issues, such as strategic routes, for instance “A6 traffic from [small town] going to the A14 comes through [other small town] and creates traffic problems [in a specific area]”, and strategic development sites “with the new build and putting A14 under pressure - needs 3 lanes - it takes ¾ of an hour to go 4 miles”. These types of comments linked sub-regional and local scales, as they identified possible negative internal impacts and supported strategic thinking.

Local allegiances were necessarily the starting point of community actors. The community perceived a dense network of links between the neighbourhood and council scales. There were many examples of both positive and negative impacts, of local development onto the smaller scale and vice versa. For instance a new bypass was seen to improve certain villages, but had isolated specific amenities such as an arts college, which was consequently hard to access. Possible growth and development within an area, was often seen as a threat to the character of the smaller villages. Local people said for example, that "the threat of major development from 500 houses will be a change for the worse". Similarly, it was stated that growth could threaten the surroundings, for instance where people were looking for "assurance that no houses or shops are to be built on surrounding land".

To a certain extent the local focus was encouraged by the 'local representative' role attributed to the community, but when asked about development opportunities in their local area, communities gave a variety of responses. Often the distinctiveness of the local area was a strong factor, but it could be either positive or negative. Some people said for example that their "[small town] needs to be looked at differently to the other east Northants towns and allowed to develop as a leisure and tourist centre…". Interestingly, the notion of 'opportunity for development' prompted people to see their neighbourhood as part of a wider scale. Some felt they were supporting the wider areas, for instance creating an opportunity to develop "housing overspill and warehousing". Alternatively, a trade off for the wider area was envisaged in not developing, for instance where it was felt that and area had "some environmental value". Other people, particularly when commenting on the smaller settlements, indicated that the wider area and larger scale settlements would be a negative force on them. For example, one person said, "residents were never asked if they wanted hundreds of new homes imposed on them", and "these priority facilities were here and slowly all moving to larger towns…"

Without extra prompting, some community actors considered the wider scale, and had a more strategic take on linkages with local areas. Ideas about external links were fleshed out with personal detail or through descriptions of how their area was bound up with others. In Corby for example people highlighted the importance of its services for the rural settlements. In any case, conversations about the strategic impacts of sub-regional development brought out a community perspective of regional-local connections, particularly the effect of out-of-town developments.

It is clear then that community actors identified most readily with the most subsidiary or local scale. It is also clear that they could adopt different scalar perspectives. As a group, they operated in a 'multi-directional' way, since their feedback included different scales. There was learning about the interaction of scales than just about a local scale. Community actors took the approach that planners

had done in the previous stages, and linked different scales and areas. The difference was that these wider-than-local scales generally centred on a community actor's residential locality. Broader scales, such as functional economic areas were less commonly discussed. The community could often take an a-scalar perspective, for example in thinking about housing needs of the next generation.

Extremely detailed site-specific commentary was critical in pin-pointing local priorities, but it also led into discussions about inter-scalar issues and explanations of the dynamics between the local and wider scales. Many concerns were raised for example around site-specific minutia, such as "loss of lollipop lady". However, they were always part of a wider issue, in this case regarding traffic heavy roads and concerns over safety. Another example was the "need to employ someone to deal with pruning and trimming of trees, allotment committees". This local comment indicated the wider potential of the area to support the green and self-sufficiency agendas. In essence, discussions of site-specific issues with the community could help explain local-to-wider scale connections.

Learning about local scale development priorities could bring insights about the connections from the local to the sub-regional. Understanding local development priorities helped the planners understand how local scale issues related to each other, as well as to sub-regional scale priorities. For example, sites were identified which needed regeneration. Taken together, these sites could feed into thinking about sub-regional priorities. Similar points across part of the sub-region could in theory create an agenda at a new scale. To develop that line of thinking, another iteration of deliberation would of course be needed after community engagement, for planners to transpose the lessons from the local scale.

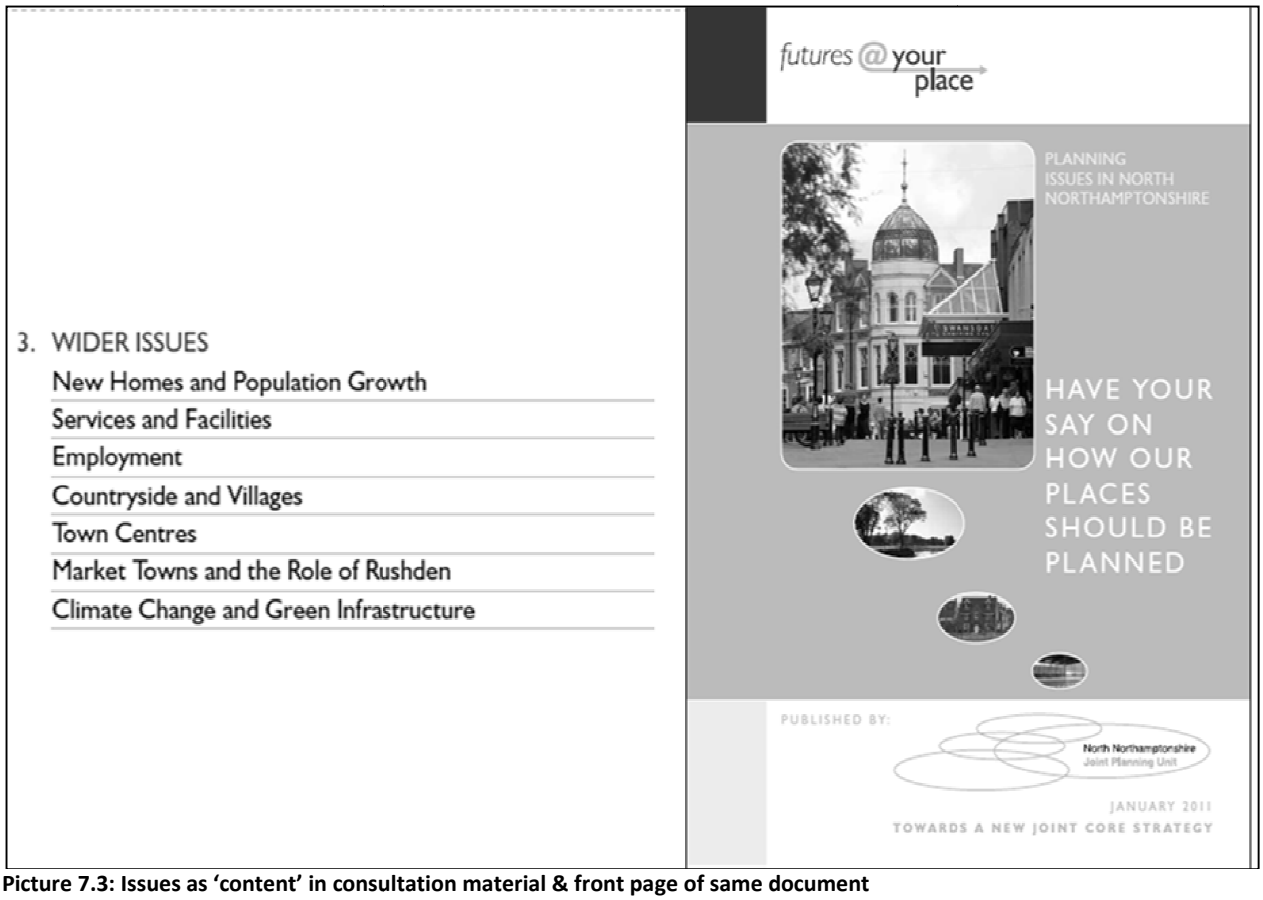
In conclusion, it is true that a lot of commentary focused on the smallest scale, with no view of possible connections with other areas, or a wider scale. However this approach did not completely dominate discussions. As the planners and lay actors were considering 'impacts', there was a good deal of learning around the local-to-wider scale links. Strategic thinking was mostly prompted by the materials and prepared lines of questioning. The dialogues gave some insight about the various local identities and how they were conceptualised as part of the wider scales. Even where the focus was only on the local scale the discussions could provide insight into how wider scales impacted on local scales, through further reflection. In particular, the specificity, variety and detail of responses from community actors could help understand the impacts of policies as experienced locally. It seemed that recurrent local issues could be recorded across a wider area to understand them at a different scale, but this would be a further stage of work beyond the scope of the case study.

7.4 Shared planning subjects – stage 3

Seven distinct 'shared planning subjects' were found in stages 1 and 2 of the core strategy review. Planning collaborators had been considering: adequate housing; improved connectivity; economic prosperity; viable urban centres; green infrastructure; improved infrastructure; climate change and energy. Community knowledge of these issues was referenced throughout, and by stage 3 planners had agreed they needed to learn more from the community through the Issues Consultation. The outline of the report produced for the events is shown below (picture 7.3). This section describes the community's response to the set of 'shared planning subjects' and how it contributed to the planners' understandings of spatial patterns.

Community actors engaged with all of the shared planning subjects. Their feedback included both strategic approaches to, and local concerns for each subject. For example, people voiced a variety of opinions on the housing stock and supply in their local areas. Some suggested that development should focus on the types of need in their local area, and incorporate "a range of housing, not too high density, housing for local people"[5]. Others said that there should be "more affordable housing". Others again wanted "no more housing" or only upgrades with "regeneration of older housing estates". Some people took a more strategic view of housing strategy and the impacts of development, and said for example that they were "in favour of housing development as long as green spaces are protected" or that they wanted "rural affordable housing".

[5] All quotations from the community are taken from the researcher own field notes, and have been anonymised.



Picture 7.3: Issues as 'content' in consultation material & front page of same document

Responses from the community gave a great deal of specific detail on the topics, particularly transport and retail. For example, discussions of the road network included issues of speeding, parking, junctions, flows, pinch points, petrol stations, lighting and signage. Detail was mostly explanatory, for example brand names were given to demonstrate the difficulties experienced locally and indicate the retail functions that were missing. People explained the type of high street they wanted, such as "M&S and more up-market shops" or where "[there are] no electrical shops or pc shops, Tecso is coming this will be good". The level of detail related strongly to concepts of quality of life. They also included some very creative and unusual suggestions for development, for instance the idea of cultivating a vineyard.

Some of the details provided by the community were extremely personal, often emotional and sometimes sensual. On first reading they could appear irrelevant to strategy, certainly in contrast to those that the planners used. For example, some people were extremely annoyed with traffic vibrations on a particular road. They were, however, very closely related to the strategy and planners were easily able to 'read' them. In this instance the vibrations highlighted where current strategy was not working; the route was causing noise problems for old housing stock, and resulted in rat-running, or cut-through driving on minor roads, by larger vehicles and highlighted the pressure on major arteries. Again this demonstrated how the community drew heavily on place quality issues,

but did so in relation to 'lived space'. The commentary brought a different perspective on the patterns and new insights, and in the example just given by looking at the functioning and impacts of road networks at ground level.

The amount of detail, given by lay actors, suggested the community produced a much more rounded picture than the other collaborators. For instance, they were able to flesh out subject matter such as policing issues, and cover drug problems and other local criminal activities. As one resident explained "[the area] is now dangerous with … vandalism and anti-social behaviour". Community contributions provided details of a greater range of 'lived experience' than had been possible previously. Other types of collaborators came from across the region and gave some amount of personal commentary (see chapters 5, 6 and 7) but the range of detail from community actors was much greater. As noted in previous chapters, safety was a subject in the core strategy (chapter 5), but had been hard to build into mapping work (chapter 6). Through community knowledge of criminality in their own areas, a picture of patterns of crime could be created. This picture could be more relevant than other data on crime as it focused on space and how crime was affecting the quality of places.

Local people easily identified what they considered to be local assets. Local heritage buildings and countryside areas were frequently noted. Such assets were seen as worth preserving *per se*, but they were also valued as a foundation for development. Some were described as underused, e.g. where JPU was exhorted to "make more use of [historical hall and theatre] for community facilities". Previous stages also identified the local assets that should be nurtured, but the discussions at that stage had been less specific about which ones. The knowledge from the community was detailed and planners were learning from it.

Community knowledge was different to that which had been observed at stage 2, providing a ground-level layer of detail that was previously missing. The option building stage had envisaged broader aspects, such as cultural heritage (shoe making and so on) and the rural environment. It had also seen them in terms of economic value. By contrast, stage 3 helped develop a more specific idea of those elements of community infrastructure and green infrastructure that were assets. Feedback on community infrastructure was particularly insightful because it linked local detail with public policy. Services and facilities such as the post-office, school, library, green and even bus routes were marked out as valuable. Notes from stands at three different small towns all stated "keep the library". Finer grain and more commonplace aspects of the towns and countryside, such as "[the

local green] and other space (including Pocket Parks[6])"or the bus routes "Rushden Rider and Higham Hopper" were picked out by the community for their value and potential in future development. In identifying these assets a different type of spatial pattern was brought to the fore. Each instance in itself was site-specific but together they built upwards, from smaller scales and more scattered assets, to create a sub-regional picture of assets with more focus on community infrastructure.

Similarly, difficulties were noted by the community at a more grass-roots level. Some difficulties were not pattern-oriented and dealt with site-specific items of poor service, such as a sports ground that needed "astroturf and expansion". Other difficulties were repeatedly found in different areas across the sub-region and these sketched out a particular pattern of experience. Parking for instance was frequently cited as a major difficulty, such as "all of [name of street] is dreadful for car parking and causes blockages", and the problems caused included poor access to precincts and services for instance "access to [local area's] medical centre".

Just as community infrastructure was more central to the patterns of assets, end-user experience was a basis for identifying negative patterns across the sub-region. Descriptive detail singled out priority areas and patterns of concern. A large amount of the discussions were around missing services, they appeared to pin-point where local people simply wished to see new dentists, supermarkets, swimming pools and so on. Whether intentional or not, many times this pointed up missing Higher Order Functions (HOF). Some community actors saw these in terms of missing HOF patterns and consequent spatial imbalance, such as "schools and doctors to keep pace with housing". Others highlighted how it left some people looking outside their local area for services and facilities, and said for example "not enough shops. [Town] is a nicer place but [other core town] is pulling custom away".

Personal insights from daily life acted as explanations of existing patterns, showing what caused particular difficulties or linked particular activities. In particular, people cited their reasons for travelling to different settlements within and outside of North Northamptonshire, for example "Milton Keynes, Peterborough and Bedford for shops … goes to London to visit relatives … Grand kids come to visit and enjoy going to the railway museum … daughter … uses the [local] library". This type of information was recorded to help consider what might change patterns, and in this case visits to family members encourage use of local facilities and lack of competitive retail results in spending outside the sub-region.

[6] Supported by Northamptonshire County Council (Little 2011)

Overall then, the contribution of the community to spatial subjects was particularly strong in helping to understanding spatial patterns with strong descriptive knowledge, communicated verbally. The breadth of issues was easily covered and a great amount of detailed description given. Personal lived experiences helped to create an image of sub-regional patterns from the ground upwards identifying scattered assets and specifying smaller sites that could be aggregated to a higher scale. Individual experiences in the areas were helpful, giving a new depth to the subject matter, and helping to understand their value to communities. With views that were informed by issues about quality of life in a place, it was easy to pin point the spatial aspects of different subjects. As they negotiated what subject matter communities also considered relevant, the planners grew increasingly confident about some of the strategic priorities.

Planners had said, at stage 2, that they needed a solid sub-regional vision in order to create coherent options, but they had also said that they needed to get a handle on causal dynamics of spatial patterns. It appears that community knowledge could help in this respect, since it was detailed and focused on causes, although a picture of would need to be built up for the region to fully appreciate those patterns. In addition, it seemed that the knowledges were complementary. Where planners' views on social infrastructure were weak the community's points were strong.

7.5 Policy domains in dialogues with the community – stage 3

The preceding sections explained how contributions from community actors were characterised by detail drawn from personal experience and the effect on scale and shared subjects. This section continues the examination of the content of community input, but focuses on how it relates to policy domains. Chapter 6 found at stage 2 that spatial planning had 'integrative force' and could draw on the rationales of different policy areas to support or challenge particular spatial policies. It found that the logic from a variety of policy fields added to the arguments for particular spatial options. Such 'domain logic' is revisited for stage 3.

Community engagement allowed various logics to be filtered into the review. Dialogues took a people-centred view on space, focusing on: what people did and where they were doing it; what they valued or didn't value about their localities; what was needed to improve the area; and particular sites that might be changed or preserved. Certain elements of policy came through more strongly during the community engagement than at other stages of the review. The Issues Consultation focused on how individuals experienced things on the ground, such as: the costs of transport; specific demands from policing; difficulties in parking; sites of low road safety for pedestrians; missing parts of cycling routes; places with poor cleanliness; and relative ease of recycling options. Such detailed observations can be characterised as data on the 'user-side' of policy, and complementing other information about policy effects. So, for example, where planners had discussed the need to bring in higher skilled employment, the community would talk about the insufficiency of earnings from current sources of employment.

Different policy areas were integrated within the details of community feedback. Community actors tended to situate problems in daily life, and by doing so they could bring out how impacts of one policy area crossed over into another. For example, where planners had (rightly) considered how the difficulties in developing an evening economy were likely to be related to poor public transport, explanations from local people showed how safety also played a part, since some people were not using buses because they felt vulnerable to criminal activity on them. Whereas the economic and transport policy areas overlapped, crime was also linked to them. Likewise, affordable housing was linked to the brain drain, since it was needed "for first time buyers"[7]; school bus routes were connected to traffic and parking difficulties; and bus routes were 'not right' because they were not linked to sites of affordable housing. The community actors were not necessarily the first to make these connections, but they provided a good deal of substantiation for them using a rationale that

[7] All quotations from the community are taken from the researcher own field notes, and have been anonymised.

was tacitly related to a broader notion of 'quality of life' or 'personal opportunities', rather than any particular domain logic.

Spatial policies that were under review had connections to several policy domains, and many were reinforced by the community input at stage 3. For example the objective of improving retail provision was well explored in the discussions about why people chose to shop where they did. The reasons were shown in more depth than during previous discussions, which looked mainly at the shopping 'offer' and transport links. Community actors also talked about which shops they wanted to use, and highlighted, for instance, insufficient bus services to shopping districts. As well as reinforcing previous convictions, however, the spatial policies were subjected to more fine-grained considerations. Community actors saw multiple inter-connections between domains. When responses focused on the reasons for shopping habits, they talked about personal experiences linking retail to several topics, including:

- health e.g. "foot pains and particular joints which are at risk of damage because of the low level of the road compared to the pavement near the disabled bay";
- community e.g. "I wait for my trips to Oxfordshire [i.e. where friends live] and spend my money there."; and
- crime e.g. "I won't come to the centre after dark or the car park at Asda, a man was stabbed in the lifts".

In effect, the style of community contributions tended to relate to several policy domains. Their knowledge embraced multiple subjects simultaneously, and could therefore offer more rounded justifications for or against policy directions than had been possible at stage 2. This is not to suggest that it could replace stage 2 input but rather that it added to it.

Employment related issues were shown in more depth and complexity, linking different policy domains. Site-specific comments linked employment and design. For example, one resident said there should be "more job provision… with provision of small starter units", and another that "large offices that deal with large organisations were a problem for smaller organisations". The effects of commuting on transit networks, and the effects of different industries on local roads were seen with much more complexity. Commuting problems were linked for example to the use of "employment agencies [....which] use people willy-nilly", "[poor] evening and weekend bus services, especially in the industrial areas […] factory workers also have to use cars".

In terms of the socio-spatial learning framework, the community tended towards multiple personal experiences and explanations, which were holistic rather than justified by any particular domain.

Their rationales were related to the impact on ‘quality of life’, which was a personally defined concept but could encompass many domains simultaneously. Many connections were made and they did have the potential to build an understanding of the policy impacts in different areas, e.g. what non-economic policies might help stimulate economic growth. This shed light on practices on the ground. Planners also learned about associated difficulties the community would have in engaging with an agenda, for instance why alternative modes of transport might be particularly welcome or not. Community knowledge could also encourage a more ambitious or inventive review less fixated on the current focus areas, uncovering the value of policy domains to spatial policy. It also seemed that this type of knowledge could help counter the abstraction of domain rationales, as they were shared between professionals (as described in chapter 6).

7.6 Community evidence – stage 3

One of the most commonly anticipated benefits of community engagement is that it will help to widen the range of perspectives in the process (see section 2.3). Evidence used by actors at stages 1 and 2 have been discussed in previous chapters and at stage 3 the Community, as an actor that is distinct from collaborators, provides a specific type of evidence. This chapter has already discussed the multi-faceted nature of the community, the form of community 'evidence', and factors of communication between planners and the community. This section briefly considers how 'community evidence' differs from other evidence and the implications of this.

The feedback, gathered and documented from dialogues with the community, drew heavily on personal experiences. People's comments were peppered with details from their own lives and those of others. Much of this detail was explanatory, however, the experiential detail served as a type of evidence, and presented in justification of their views. In this way, community actors asserted that this was knowledge not opinions, backed up by fact and to be taken as reality by the planners. Personal detail was used to explain the value of particular assets. People said for example, the "library is the lifeline if the library shut I wouldn't come to [small town] for anything"[8] and "the lakes are nice and quiet and good for walking, I have my school sponsored walk there". Details were also used to explain a position towards policy, for instance the strategic distribution industry was discussed saying, "no more warehousing on rural land [around a particular area site] for goodness sake. I have sons who left higher education unable to get sufficient job training to work anywhere else here."

Time was a recurrent theme within the community evidence, particularly amongst the older generations. Change over time, or the lack of change, was given as a reason for their concerns. Community actors would say, for instance 'when I was young'; 'when I first came here' and so on, but not merely to recount an anecdote. For instance, several community actors were against growth because previous growth had not been worked in past times. One long term resident said "many new residents have been attracted to these areas but I have not noticed any improvements to infrastructure…", and another from a small town said it "was a large village when we first moved here 25 years ago we had many open spaces our own police station, petrol station, butchers, bakers, grocers, dairy, dentist, building society...the town has lost its soul.". This form of longitudinal evidence was also used directly to discuss more strategic subject matter, for example where someone said, "I have seen no evidence of [whether villages could work together] since I moved

[8] All quotations from the community are taken from the researcher own field notes, and have been anonymised.

here 12 years ago." Community actors clearly drew on a stock of experiential knowledge built-up over time about the impact of development on the area, and considered it useful evidence for the planners.

In addition to experiential knowledge, community actors often relied on comparisons, which could demonstrate a point of view about the local context. For instance, comparisons were drawn with nearby places, to demonstrate what was missing in a local area. The success of other towns was frequently cited especially, but not only, the recent development of Corby town centre. This was evidence that the place in question could benefit from similar regeneration, buildings and facilities. People would also draw on knowledge of places outside the sub-region, as a source of evidence of what might work. For example, someone felt that investment in buses could be a game changing strategy, and noted "I saw buses in USA with cycle racks, front and rear". Only quantitative evidence was absent from the community feedback. This type of evidence had been used by planners in the previous stages and would need to be used again after the engagement (see description of the evidence culture in chapter 6).

It should not be forgotten that public engagement itself was considered to be an important 'evidence requirement' by the planners, and the process was presented in this way during the issues consultation. The culture of support for community engagement at that time may have helped build confidence. It cannot be said to what extent this affected the responses, however, the way in which community actors gave feedback suggested they accepted this role as a 'source of evidence'. There were many instances where comments were presented as 'known fact' without qualification or quantification. People said for example, the "[village] Parish Plan is a good resource" and "any development in the area will put great pressure on road, parking, doctors' surgeries and schools".

Community actors gave evidence from across the wide range of perspectives that they represented. It was however very different to the evidence used at previous stages. For community actors, personal details substantiated what constituted poor or valued aspects of the local identity. They explained how change would impact the area and made references to their own history. In addition, the community used comparisons to support their points of view. All of their commentary was recorded as evidence.

7.7 Community knowledge around major issues – stage 3

A series of major issues were identified at stage 1 (see chapter 5) and learning around them was traced through stage 2 (see chapters 6). These major issues are: 1. the scale and location of growth; 2. the effect of growth on the proximity of separate settlements; 3. the image of the strategic distribution industry; 4. an agenda of 'green living'; and 5. the extent of dependency or self-sufficiency of the sub-region. This section considers what the impact of community engagement is on each of these major issues in terms of learning and knowledge.

The first major issue, **scale and location of growth**, continued to be the most dominant topic. Growth was seen by planners as a way to promote economic success, but it still entailed political and practical difficulties. Specifying the scale and location would be a crucial 'plan outcome' but sites and figures proved difficult to pin down. Speaking to the community about growth, two types of opinion came out very strongly, essentially for and against growth. Both views were expressed in all local authority areas and in all sizes of settlements. Points of view about growth were associated both with knowledge of existing social capital within communities, and with hopes and fears about a larger future population.

Implicit knowledge of communities was a large part of the discussions. Some community actors felt that aiming to increase natural growth was a threat to social capital and resource distribution. A typical sentiment was that the area could become a dormitory settlement with commuters. People demonstrated this for example where they said such commuters were people "who don't have time to get involved in community activities"[9], and that the plan should firstly aim to "get everything right for the number of people who are currently in the area before we start thinking about more housing". Others saw a larger population as a way to increase economic vibrancy, and said for example that an "increased population [is] needed for [towns]'s future to stop stagnation". Pro-growth actors suggested ways to attract new populations, e.g. positioning the sub-region as a central hub with investment in commuter routes "from Peterborough to East Anglia and Wellingborough to Milton Keynes". Although the language used was not emotional, there was an emotive tone as views were expressed with conviction and a sense of personal importance.

Views were also informed by concerns about the physical quality of local settlements. Many people characterised themselves as anti-change, saying they valued what they already had. There were two main reasons for not wanting to change anything. First was the fear of losing the 'character' of the existing settlements. People said for example "it's lovable as it is". Second was the belief that

[9] All quotations from the community are taken from the researcher own field notes, and have been anonymised.

existing infrastructure was not sufficient or would not be able to expand sufficiently. Someone said for example “it would make economic sense to grow in a way to maximise use of that present network”. Pro-growth opinions were based on hopes of improving the area. Many people spoke of the benefits which growth could bring, and how they feared stasis and aging village populations. One person said for example, that “the countryside needs to change, and cannot be frozen in time”.

Conversations about growth tapped into emotional logic, where people appeared ‘invested’ in what already existed. There was also joint learning with the communities about the meaning of numbers. Although sentiments were mixed and did not specify scale of growth very well for the sub-region, the growth figures could be couched in such as way as to promote meaningful debate with the community. Community actors on the whole did not specify exact figures and reactions to questions about organic growth indicated that they found it very hard to relate to percentage growth figures. On the other hand certain actors did make statements about the capacity of their own settlements. Across all comments, no settlement said that there should be absolutely no new housing there. Caveats such as “thousands would be unacceptable” and “a limited number” provided some indications of what they might find acceptable.

Deliberating the impacts of different types of growth was linked with the location of growth. The community deliberated strategic points about location of growth, such as the need for housing dispersal, e.g. “across [small town]”. They also addressed the importance of contingencies of employment and infrastructure improvements, e.g. saying the areas was “too busy and roads aren’t good enough”. Community actors had a strong sense of where new developments could go and conversations repeatedly used site specific and personal rather than strategic logic. It was said for example that particular town centres and newly built residential areas could “support a higher residential stock”. As well as identifying sites for new housing, community actors highlighted personally specific factors, such as proximity. People talked for example about not having growth “on people’s doorsteps” and making sure there were affordable homes. Where collaborators had particular sensitivities about growth (e.g. about differential investment in LA areas), the community brought in knowledge around more local concerns.

The second major issue concerned the **proximity of settlements**, and at stage 2, the ‘spatial options’ were particularly driven by the desire to avoid agglomeration between the core towns. As with ‘scale & location of growth’ discussions around agglomeration characteristically took a local perspective. However, with a particular line of questioning a broader outlook could be drawn out. Community actors in the core towns appeared either to be less concerned by the issue of agglomeration itself or not to have previously considered it. However, when planners broached the subject they tended to

say that they were against it, in principle. Residents of smaller towns and villages seemed more strongly concerned about agglomeration and tended to raise it themselves. They felt for example that a "linear settlement" would form, or that they would essentially become part of an "urban area". They felt this could affect the area negatively and even "destroy village life". The views of the community seemed to be limited to a known smaller area or 'neighbourhood' type of scale, but there was always contingent knowledge about its place and position within a wider area. The community was not as familiar with the topic of agglomeration as planners, which may have had an influence on the discussions.

By contrast, the third major issue of the **strategic distribution industry** resonated with local residents, who were familiar with the ideas about notionally unsightly and employment rich 'warehousing' associated with it. Negative sentiments expressed at the road show were similar to those found at previous stages, for example saying that "the size and the look of [warehousing site] is bad and the location is very inappropriate". A few people had ideas that could help to make the industry more efficient, e.g. placing warehouses near a railway. However, most responses were not accepting of the industry per se and only favoured the most remote locations, i.e. near road intersections far from settlements or even outside the sub-region. This was the same type of strong strategic view that had been discussed at stage 2.

Despite the negative image of warehousing, the community emphasised that the strategic distribution industry was a source of employment locally. Local knowledge was frequently put forward in considering workable options, with planners. On probing in the questionnaire about what might make warehousing acceptable, people who were against expanding that industry put forward many ideas that might make it acceptable. They listed for example, not putting it on high ground, open countryside or on floodplains. It was also stated that there were many unused warehouses that had been built in the area.

The fourth major issue was the **green-living agenda**, which covered a breadth of interconnected topics related to carbon fuel reduction and making the most of the local natural environment. In the main, community actors related well to the goal of carbon reduction, but had heated discussions around its causes. Some people expressed the belief that climate change could not be controlled, for example saying that "climate change is caused by the sun, not manmade activity". Community actors appeared to strongly agree with the planners, that the surrounding countryside was an important local asset. They frequently made statements in support of strategies that could protect it, such as "try and prevent too much expansion into the countryside". They also expressed strong agreement that there should be easier access to the countryside in their daily lives, and gave details about

where there were difficulties. As well as voicing support for these aspects of green living, they also suggested how to realise it. One actor, for instance, made the case for how to "get people out of cars- safer routes to schools, policing outside schools", another said that green space should be more welcoming/safer to use". Others again pointed up gaps in the 'chain' of green living, citing the practical barriers such as: lack of "recycling facilities or collection system"; a "greenway route" for cyclists and pedestrians; and having services within walking distance. They were in effect filling in gaps in planners' knowledge of the details for this issue.

The fifth major issue, **self-sufficiency** was not presented as such to the community actors but their views on the matter can been seen in their statements about what the local areas required and in their awareness of dependence on relationships outside the sub-region. Lay actors from the community, described for example the impact of a declining high street on the local economy. They said, that "[a small specialist shop] closing down is a big blow… they used to bring trade to the area from Bedford, Kettering and Northampton" and argued for a new approach with "a different style of service" to replace the lost business. Other people brought the self-sufficiency down to a very small scale. They either centred on "transport for young and old people so they can get to services e.g. Doctors, Dentist, Cinema, etc." or how "closer competition [of service provision] would threaten what is already here". In general, the future of rural areas was seen as resting on physical and social provision, e.g. encouraging a younger population to stay, having adequate services, transport to other places for amenities. Some villages did not consider local jobs as vital, but overall more and better employment local opportunities were seen as vital. This type of feedback appeared self-evident but for planners it was validation of the agenda of self-sufficiency.

Overall, feedback from community actors could support or challenge the prevailing position on the each of the major issues in the spatial plan, although it was not as straight forward as posing a counterpoint that represented a 'community position'. Firstly, the diversity of opinions did not provide a way to challenge the idea of seeking to increase the population of the sub-region. The 'professional' topic of agglomeration was seen as highly conceptual and hard to relate to, whereas the 'well known' issues of logistics and 'green living' easily became topics of joint learning and discussions of options. Likewise, self-sufficiency was not directly broached but feedback suggested people were in favour of that concept. Although under particular circumstances communities could deliberate just as other stakeholders had done at stage 2, they tended to non-strategic types of knowledge, i.e. local, personal, specific and about lived space.

In conclusion, community engagement provided new scope for learning, which helped understand the multiple views about major issues. As in the previous sections, the detailed, experiential

knowledge brought specificity to certain areas and had explanatory power in others. Learning at this stage was therefore much more informed by their different perspective and ways of thinking about development but could be interpreted into strategic thinking. A caveat to interpretation of knowledge from the community might be that the community perspective tends towards 'neighbourhood' concerns and these need to be brought together to create a wider perspective of inter-neighbourhood trade-offs. Support for particular strategic directions could be demonstrated not only through statements of points of view but also through detailed local knowledge, which could also help in levels of confidence around strategy (which was found to be a problem area as discussed in chapter 6).

7.8 Conclusions

In the previous chapter an iterative process was observed for learning with actors who were formally involved in the collaboration for spatial planning. This chapter has seen how the Issues Consultation brought community actors into spatial planning as new collaborators with new knowledge. These collaborators provided fresh thinking from multiple perspectives, and it seems that community engagement can provide a distinctive iteration in the learning process. The findings are summarised here in relation to how learning with the community can support goals of spatial planning, which chapter characterised as: widening the scope of perspectives on a place; preventing 'end-state' spatial visions; identifying and understanding cross-policy issues; identifying spatial patterns and understanding their functions; identifying and understanding interaction of scales; constructing new spatial 'constituencies'; and encouraging 'differently configured' collaborations. The implications for knowledge production are considered in chapter 8.

Considering the community as an actor, it is complex and can help in identifying and understanding interaction of scales. Although the particular people involved were as close a representation as could be had of the community that had been conceptualised in the plan, they were not in fact such a unitary 'stakeholder'. Instead the 'engaged party' consisted of only current residents of the area, rather than representatives of an envisioned North Northamptonshire in 2031. However this group of actors still added a new type of perspective. Rather than being an actor with a 'position' or 'set of values' the community had multiple conflicting views. Rather than being a particular scale the community had a range of scales. It appears however that, although not a formal collaborator or actor, the community can add a lot of new knowledge to the collaborative 'store'.

The community brought new areas of knowledge, a new communicative style and multiplicity of perspectives on issues. It was an amalgam of many local scale actors who interacted within different groups. Those groups were relational, issue-based or locational. Due to the many groups, the community could not provide a 'unified community view' but this served to widen the scope of perspectives on a place. Community actors used personal experiences, built up over time, as evidence to support their points and also connected policy making to human experience.

The 'community contribution' helped in learning around each issue. No issue was out of reach of the dialogue with the community. Discussions with the community highlighted new areas where domains overlapped. Experiential knowledge and personal details were essential and created a ground up picture of quality of place in the sub-region. Although they often supported previous findings, they gave more meaning and substantive corroborating detail than other input. This

suggests that a holistic approach can open up many connections between policy domains; a function that would be useful in constructing spatial visions according to spatial planning theory.

Multiple personal input offers explanatory knowledge related to 'lived experience'. This gives new insight into the functions and social aspects of the patterns. Community knowledge is informed by perceptions of quality of life. This can add a new confidence around what is relevant to daily life, complementing the existing planning knowledge. It can also fill in a layer of detail about the regional functions and spatial patterns which is otherwise missing.

Planners reflected on the causes behind trends, flows or patterns, drawing on the multiple personal experiences. There was a more local view of impacts in discussions with the community. By situating problems in daily life, the community brought out how impacts crossed over between policy domains and between different geographic areas. A focus on smaller denser networks of links was typical. This offered rounded and practical justifications for policy options, which could help counter the abstraction found at previous stages.

Site-specific issues, when explained by community actors, had explanatory power for inter-scalar connections and spatial patterns. The community used a historical and comparative rationale. Issues that were important to quality of life were brought to the fore, drawing on a broad notion of 'personal opportunities'. Planners could loop this community knowledge about spatial dynamics and localities into their work. This suggests that strong images of spatial patterns might in future be able to emerge taking feedback from across the sub-region, for example where smaller scale assets could be aggregated upwards or where difficulties that resonate in different areas could suggest a pattern of policy failure. One caveat is that historical logic, used by the community, might lead to static expectations of the plan and local end-state visions.

Since the community saw different scales of impact, it raised the question about what the true scale of each 'local area' was. The nature of the learning was narrower, but deeper for any given subject and full of new knowledge about who exactly would be involved and why. Communities defined constituencies in terms of needs. They did not appear 'local' as commonly understood, but meaning around a local point that related to many other areas. Priority services and amenities for instance were not only those nearby or in the settlement, and in fact frequently were outside the authority boundaries of the JPU's four local boroughs. This posed a challenge to any assumptions about who else might be affected by the plan or collaborate in it.

Community engagement provides a point of reflection where collaborators are unable to determine relevant priorities. Unlike other collaborators, community actors tend to focus on connections

around a single point at the smallest scale, therefore priorities would have to be derived after community engagement from the overall input from the community in an 'integrated picture'. It was shown in the last chapter that, to understand aspirations in the wider region, policy documents from the wider scale were used as evidence of wider goals to which the strategy could align itself. Similarly, to understand the aspirations of individual communities (which were extremely hard to pin point), local goals might be seen through an integrated picture of difficulties and assets that are important to the community actors. These individual communities could be constructed in new ways, that are informed by the community, with common concerns or common areas that cross-boundaries.

Reflecting on these points might help future appreciation of community engagement exercises and increase awareness of the utility of lay input to strategic thinking. Comparing learning in professional and lay collaborations suggests that there are complementarities of knowledge areas and forms. Given the style of learning for spatial planning it seems there is potential for community knowledge to assist planners, for example in helping to create life-like scenarios. 'End-user' experiences may be particularly valuable where other data cannot move collaborations towards 'answers'.

A few other considerations might be useful in the design of public engagement exercises. Firstly, community actors adjust their communication and this can encourage abstraction or lost some of the benefits of 'lived space' experience. Most notably, communities can use planning terminology to interpret maps together with planners and to discuss different scales and strategic issues, but this creates different type of input and not necessarily a unique community perspective with all the learning potential discussed in this chapter. Secondly, low process knowledge is not a barrier to engaging. Whereas full knowledge of the workings and practices of the planning system will affect the power dynamics, but useful dialogue is still possible without such knowledge. The only exception is that a good awareness of the right to be involved is important for dialogue, as it gives confidence. Thirdly, the tendency towards historical analysis of the community, i.e. thinking based on knowledge of how things were in the past, might tend to act against change. This could lead to stasis and in its own way be a form of 'end-state vision'.

The study of community engagement at stage 3 has uncovered many points (shown in summary form in box 7.1) that are relevant to the four secondary research questions. All of the findings from stages 1-3 of the review were further tested as chapter 8 describes. Chapter 8 synthesises the case study findings and relates them directly to knowledge and learning, and chapter 9 discusses how they were tested at practitioner workshops.

Key points from stage 3 - lessons from community engagement

SRQ 3 Spatial rationalities of community actors

- Personal and experiential local knowledges
- Based on need and ambition
- Drawing on an intuitive sense of the wider 'place dependencies' of a location
- Historical outlook & sensitivity to timing of development
- Drawing on external comparisons, which use ideas about experiences elsewhere
- Denser social and place linkages are apparent (e.g. common shared activities, social bonds)

SRQ 4 Reframing with community engagement

- 'Community' is seen as a plural, diverse & multi-valent, not simply a sub-regional entity
- Spatial patterns of the sub-region are broken down into a series of smaller area patterns
- Subjects of 'sub-regional place quality' broached by geographically scattered & diverse concerns
- A broader range of interpretations of what constitutes a relevant subject

SRQ 4 Means of reframing within community engagement

- Rich and productive dialogue is possible using both lay & planning languages
- Lay character of community actors not a communicative barrier, but some translation required on both sides

The introduction of lay knowledge supports reframing, in the following ways:

- Concretisation, providing detail of place and activities
- Expanding forms of 'evidence' with less 'standard' forms of evidence
- Holistic, integrative, quality-of-life-oriented visioning, which deals with policy areas together
- Experiential argumentation, with strong explanatory power (dealing with local effects of development)

Other reframing might arise after the engagement stage:

- Appreciation of commonalities shared by groups lay actors dispersed across the region
- Development of integrative picture of need in particular localities

SRQ 5 Types of spatial elements involved

- Central local node, that is the focus of interpreting a spatial pattern
- No concern for area boundaries, or fluid spaces
- Multiple types of area-relationship or uses of places within and around local areas
- Focus on the problems with the practical functioning of places
- Human impacts at the forefront of all spatial issues

SRQ 6 Policy factors regarding community involvement

- Formal recognition of community as 'stakeholder' and informal aspirations for community to be a collaborator
- Multiple policy makers associated with the issues which causes confusion particularly as the planners are least visible
- Existing policies can cause difficulties/sensitivities, even if not within the remit of the plan
- Social aspects of policies more prominent in dialogues with the community

Box 7.1: Key points from stage 3, for secondary research questions 3-6

Chapter 8: Case Study Findings – a synthesis

8.1 Introduction

The case study produced a series of findings about local knowledge, planning knowledge and learning dynamics when communities were engaged in spatial planning. Findings emerged across the period of review for the North Northamptonshire Core Strategy which included significant public engagement exercises. Preceding chapters have detailed the findings for three separate 'stages', and this chapter synthesises them. It compares what has been discovered about learning before and after community engagement, for lessons around reframing and knowledge production. The synthesis targets the research output at making statements of the sort that could begin to answer the research questions. Synthesised findings were needed in part to be able to test validity and that testing is the subject of chapter 9.

This thesis is an exploration of the potential for learning through public engagement in planning. It draws on the review of an adopted core strategy, aiming to improve the understandings of a sub-region (North Northamptonshire) and to build new scenarios that could act as visions for its future. That offered a real life example of the very abstracted phenomena of interest, i.e. knowledge and learning. Prior to the fieldwork, conceptual work suggested that community engagement had the potential to be a socio-spatial learning area and that there might be a dynamic between knowledge in communities and knowledge in planning. The analysis of knowledge in the case study, sought to understand the specificities of such learning and the dynamics associated with it. The assumption was that community engagement would not be an all-encompassing education but one that could strengthen spatial understandings.

As explained in chapter 4, the case study findings need to be tested in order to substantiate their validity and their wider relevance. As a first step in this, it is necessary to bring together what was learned from the different stages of the case study in a synthesised picture of the findings. A summary of findings from each stage of the core strategy review was given at the end of chapters 5, 6 and 7, and the next two sections of this chapter assess them as a whole. Whereas the previous analysis disaggregated the data into topic areas, this chapter synthesise the findings, which also allows reflections on their coherence.

The rest of this chapter looks at the learning dynamic of spatial strategy making (8.2), and then the learning dynamic of community engagement (8.3). It remarks on differences between them and draws out overall implications. Conclusions are not drawn in this chapter, rather it sets the scene for

validation work described in chapter 9. The final findings and their implications, for planning as a profession and for the role of the planner, are dealt with in the final chapter.

8.2 Knowledge in spatial strategy-making

In order to understand the impact of community engagement, the knowledge and learning prior to the participation of lay actors needed to be studied. When issues and options for the sub-region were being examined by planners and their formal collaborators, 'narrowing' was observed. As explained here, planners built up knowledge and then reassessed it, and this processes of building knowledge indicated specific needs for spatial planning.

Narrowing was perceived in three ways as shown in diagram 8.1. Firstly, the group of formal collaborators tended to draw on very particular types of evidence. The goal of establishing a sound evidence-base, which was jointly agreed, reworked and used throughout the stage 2, bounded what was acceptable as evidence. It could include documented information and material, which were necessarily explicit and systematised forms of data, and therefore tended towards 'harder' types of information. Softer data was also included but was always expressed as formal policy, professional advice or information that could be mapped.

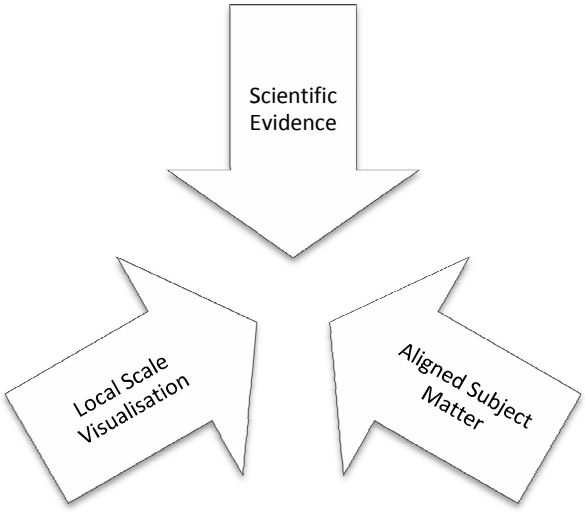


Diagram 8.1: Forces of a narrowing dynamic

The second aspect of the 'narrowing' dynamic was the tendency of the JPU and its collaborators, to focus on aligning subject matter. Evidence was centered on particular topics and communities of interest, and had to demonstrate sub-regional relevance. The subject matter of the existing strategy and the population of the sub-region were necessarily the starting point of all of the review work. Acknowledged relationships and contingencies, such as scales of interest and neighbouring actors, helped determine the relevance of data. Harder data appeared to carry more weight if it could be used in more than one topic area. Repeated references to a particular source of evidence across different subject areas reinforced the sense of its validity and the validity of knowledge associated with it.

Thirdly, ‘narrowing’ occurred where particular scales were targeted, especially where local areas were the focus of argumentation. There was an easy and natural connection with the smaller scales, even though the detail of the fine grain was often lacking, and a ‘local general’ type of knowledge was therefore critical. By contrast creative effort was required to create visions for the whole area whether or not data was available. The joint-planning unit and its collaborators found it much easier to focus on borough areas than on the wider regional scale. In addition, such local general knowledge bonded people within the group.

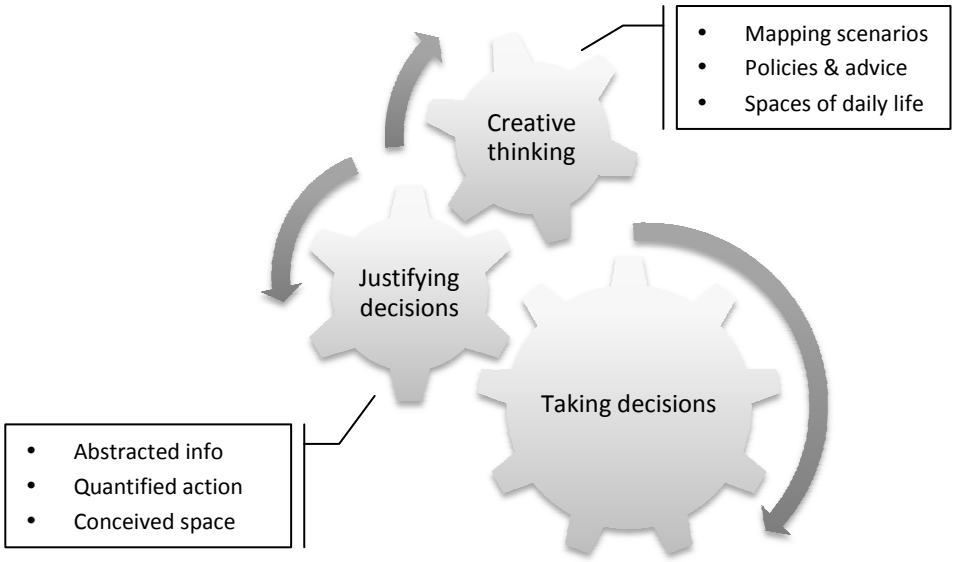


Diagram 8.2: Dynamics of ‘Creative thinking’, ‘Justifying decisions’ and ‘Taking decisions’

It appeared that a ‘narrowing’ dynamic was connected to the way in which decisions could be articulated as group and justified outside the group. The alignment of subjects and recognition of the smaller scales were important in crystallising decisions within the group and reaching internal agreement on what the decision entailed. But this was fuelled by the need to have a high level of confidence in being able to convincingly communicate those decisions to a wider professional audience. For example, planners frequently noted the need to have dialogue with a wider planning community. The acceptability of certain types of legitimisation was also crucial to the revised core strategy being able to pass independent examination.

Even before reaching agreement within the group about changes or how to present them to the wider world, the planners needed to stimulate ‘creative futures thinking’. This involved broader knowledge and a different type of evidence. The group was exploring possibilities and so they had to draw on experiences beyond what existed within the group. They were developing new strategy, which also required creativity. New ideas needed to be ‘constructed’ by the group rather than adopted from an evidence-base.

Abstracted concepts and scientific data were not effective at initiating changes to strategic approaches. Although these were useful for describing existing quantitative trends, they were not sufficient on their own to suggest new policy directions. Planners used softer data such as policies and advice to interpret codified information and build sub-regional scenarios. Softer information was also effective at stimulating new ideas. As new ideas emerged they also needed to be made more concrete. They were thought through in practical terms, and mapped out as 'scenarios' for the sub-region as a whole. Such sub-regional pictures were considered especially well substantiated when they could be 'fleshed out' by rich details of daily life. It seemed that planners needed experiential and specific knowledge about the communities involved, in order to support their understanding of places. This suggested that community engagement could be a valuable source of 'evidence' about the nature of 'the North Northamptonshire community', and about particular topics of local relevance.

Constructing an area wide logic while accounting for diverse local perspectives produced a creative tension between local knowledge and whole scenarios. There was a constant need to move between the wider and local scales. Visual materials were helpful in fleshing out sub-regional scenarios, but discussions could come to an impasse if detailed knowledge of the local area was felt to be missing. For example, the fine grained patterns of local activity were essential to understanding the implications for each area.

The evidence culture of the group and the requirements of policy making were also in tension with each other. Lived space of communities and concrete physical details were essential to the review work, yet planners would need to legitimise their decisions mainly in terms of abstracted knowledge and conceived space. This was concerning, since it would be important to achieve levels of confidence in the knowledge behind any new strategy offered as output from the review. The role of local knowledge was critical and its function for 'creative futures thinking' was informally and explicitly recognised but it did not sit comfortably with formal aspects of practice.

8.3 Local knowledge & its dynamics

Local knowledge was explicitly sought by planners through dialogue with local people, at the 'community engagement' stage of the core strategy review. Embedded study revealed a possible role for 'local knowledge' in the production of planning knowledge. Of particular interest are: how the local knowledge from the community worked alongside contributions of other spatial planning collaborators; the knowledge dynamics; the 'spatiality' of local knowledge; and the particularities of co-constructing knowledge.

Firstly, the embedded work on community engagement confirmed that community actors represented a range of residents' voices and brought a distinct type of knowledge to the learning arena. It was noted that local knowledge emanated from the community when the local community assumed the attitude of 'collaborative actor', i.e. confidently advising. Full strategic options could be directly discussed with the community.

Compared to other actors, the community was more focused on lived space, and had characteristic 'local knowledge'. The knowledge was local in the sense that it was embedded and created in a particular context. It was also local in the sense that it was focused on a locality, which was generally but not exclusively a locality of residence. This is distinct from the 'local general knowledge' of the JPU, which derived from a broader familiarity with North Northamptonshire.

Community actors tended to have a 'local space approach' to development, centred on small group identities. This approach is often characterised as NIMBY-ist or taking a simplistic view of space through the lens of self-interest, however, the empirical evidence in this case study suggested that local knowledge was not restricted to such a narrow rationale. Although 'the North Northamptonshire community' ostensibly consisted of current residents dealing with their own local issues at the neighbourhood scale, community knowledge pertained to complex, networked communities, densely constituted place identities and larger scale needs.

Local knowledge took a fine-grained view of space and had specific focal points, but it also had flexibility around the precise definition of scale. Places seemed to be defined by their proximity to amenities and surrounding social processes. In local knowledge, places were not presented as static or located at one fixed place, rather the community gave a sense of a specific site that was currently and continually constructed through diverse, evolving activities and experiences.

Topic	**Rationality A (Spatial Planning)** ➔	**Rationality B (Local Knowledge)**
Major Issues	Growth / anti-growth views existing for areas	Concept of 'growth' abstruse
	Dialogue as means to challenge stasis	Varieties of opinion, impossible to represent a static view
Actors & scales	Image of community as future entity	Present consideration of community
	Image of community as several coherent entities	Emphasis on differences within & between multiple communities
	Image of a NN community	Confusion around position towards NN & Localities. Individuals related to different areas and communities
	Images of inter-scalar patterns formed without local details	A multi-scalar approach around local area
Community Engagement	Negative expectations of dialogue	Concerns lessened
	Image of community as client	Community as collaborator
Planning Evidence	Concerns the conditions for success of a particular place, i.e. town/ cluster of villages	What should be the criteria, i.e. the 'where' is assumed
	History as identity	History as evidence
	User-side data as approval / poll style	Community 'evidence' has potential to explain patterns or test current strategy
	Local scale as one part of regional picture	Backyard as main source of evidence
Shared Planning Subjects	Difficulties in service provision (esp. transport)	Reinforcement of views of these issues
	Assets / issues belonging to specific area or whole NN	Excellent asset / issue identification & details but focus on specific area & places connected to it
	Crime as secondary consideration	Safety as primary consideration
Policy Domains	Core subjects dominate, i.e. economy, environment, housing, transport & employment	Equity & interconnected subjects around quality of life more generally
	Focus on particular connection between topics	Multiple links between domains

Table 8.1: Reframing spatial planners' rationale with local knowledge, by the six topics of the conceptual framework

Communities were multiple and their 'local places' were not simplistic backyards but constructed around the lives of local people, within which an undefined number of connections existed. Each local place was related to a range of other places, through community activities which took place there. There was no single isolated 'local scale entity'. Local communities also discussed the value of facilities and functions at the wider scale, such as large scale facilities and regional infrastructure.

The literature around community engagement suggested a similar picture of local knowledge, but that picture has extra significance for this study. Briefly, local knowledge is thought to have specific learning potential within the context of spatial planning. As depicted in diagram 8.2, there was a tension, between the creativity needed for decisions and the justification of them. Futures thinking rest on predictive knowledge and 'lived space' knowledge comes from place experience, and therefore they are produced in very different ways. Experiential knowledge is historical and often informal, even tacit, whereas predictive knowledge is about future events and always formal and explicit. Moreover, experiential knowledge is based on reasoning through observation of patterns whereas predictive knowledge is based on reasoning through extension of established principles. For instance, the steps in logic behind experiential knowledge might be: I experience difficulties buying a house; the high street is crowded; this locality needs more housing. The contrasting logic from predictive knowledge would be: the region is growing; this town area is in the region; this town will grow. It appeared that spatial planning drew on both types of reasoning, and planners certainly embraced both experiential and predictive rationalities.

Knowledge of communities was constructed differently by lay people and by planners. Planning documents presented communities as either sub-regional or based on a town. In both of these rationalities, the community was seen to have opportunities within the sub-region, and was primarily defined in through top down predictions. By contrast, lay people defined the community through activities or opportunities at a smaller scale. They approached places in a 'fluent' way, with confidence and plenty of detail about observed patterns, and always related them to local networks of people and activities. This was very different to the abstracted communities and conceived places constructed by the planning collaborators.

The knowledge observed in community engagement appeared to be 'broadening'. That is to say that it broadened out the planners 'evidence culture' with layer of human detail. It provided a counter-balance to the planners' tendency towards abstracted or conceptual space. This was because lay knowledge was, in itself, more strongly associated with the physical realities and priorities of local life. As the planners were learning with communities, they gained an appreciation of: holistic social facts that connected policy domains; causal details of spatial patterns that supported or challenged strategic priorities; current urban issues that were spatially partial but could be aggregated; and practical understandings of place dependencies. These can be described in a little more detail as follows.

Since local knowledge was also experiential and causal, it offered a more rounded justification for strategies. Residents tended to embrace a rationale that related to quality of life, and would mainly

express ideas in practical embodied terms. By situating problems in daily life the community brought out how impacts of one policy area crossed over into another. This countered the silos of professional domain rationales and demonstrated the human importance of where domains overlapped. For example, the difficulties experienced on a particular transport route were given importance when discussed with someone who was a care-giver for an elderly relative. As well as highlighting areas where policy domains overlapped, the community was able to identify those overlaps that were 'holistically' important to a local context rather than important to a single policy domain. Collaborative planners were receptive to this 'holistic' logic and accepted the accompanying 'social facts'.

Community actors tended to give detailed descriptions of everyday experiences and much of their knowledge was extremely personal however it also contained a strong causality which had the potential to contribute to planning knowledge. Knowledge from communities pertained to the complex identities of local places and community actors as described above, and it also contained explanations of spatial patterns, i.e. where certain activities took place and why. This showed which elements of the local area people relied on, and how these elements hung together as a 'place' on which people depended. As planners learned about places and place issues from communities, they were reflecting on their own understanding of 'important' parts of the urban fabric. For instance, one rationale of the core strategy was to create a green network and communities identified green spaces of local value, which could be integrated into the strategy with good explanation of their social worth. Likewise some policies, e.g. expanding transport routes in and around an area, were challenged when community actors did not find them useful.

Regarding urban issues and policy responses, local knowledge dealt with small parts of the region. The learning process therefore involved integrating local evidence and knowledge of smaller scale elements. In local knowledge, phenomena of urban change were mostly constructed through an evaluation of their impact (whether physical or social) on the smallest scale or local places. By contrast, spatial planning knowledge of urban change was closely related to impacts seen at a larger scale. Planners' thinking tended to be driven by communicative logic and the need to negotiate, therefore local impacts were part of a set of trade-offs. Local knowledge was always spatially partial, strategic knowledge was always locally vacuous. The implication was that local knowledge needed to be aggregated for real a picture of regional impact, and the regional picture needed to be described more fully with the accumulated local knowledge.

Similarly, local knowledge of place-based interdependencies causally linked smaller and wider scales, but not as widely, geographically speaking, as spatial planning knowledge did. Interdependencies,

which connected parts of the urban infrastructure, were perceived by all actors. Community actors tended to see only one or two points on the smaller scale, and mostly perceived through social processes and expressed in terms of quality of life. Planners considered social impacts across a wider space and in terms of urban processes. In order to relate to local knowledge of interdependencies, planners had to 'translate' them. For example the smaller scale view could be interpreted as a sign of the relative importance of links between places, or pieced together in to a larger picture of how parts of the area worked together as a single, functional unit.

Overall, the synthesis of the findings suggests that local knowledge is policy-holistic, multi-dimensional and experiential in nature. They anticipate certain effects of local knowledge on strategy-making. Holistic social details support joined up policy thinking. Very local, site-specific issues contain explanatory power for inter-scalar connections. Lived space counters abstraction and sheds light on priorities and assets. Local knowledge helps explain the spatial interdependencies where parts of the sub-region affected other parts.

8.4 Summary

The key case study findings around knowledge in spatial planning and learning with the community are picked out and summarised here. They relate to: the nature of local knowledge; the specificity of local spatiality; the learning value of community involvement in planning; and factors of process.

Before communities are engaged, planners learn about dependencies by working together and have a particular culture of learning. Multiple sources of evidence are used and confidence in their meaning is built by the identification of connections between subject areas and commonalities between settlements. These are interpreted as spatial patterns. Planners' understandings about some issues can still remain low and they can encounter difficulties in reaching levels of confidence that they feel they need. Sometimes a deadlock is reached, and in such instances they seek further information or new collaborators. Other times they are able to 'narrow' down to a point of certainty that they accept as a group and take forward to create a plan. In these instances they visualise and document their knowledge, most often also mapping it.

Community actors, with their lay or local knowledge, appear to have particular force in this context. They can change knowledge by raising confidence about the interpretation of multiple sources of evidence. They add details which are personal and can help explain spatial patterns. They can prevent problems building up due to deadlock, or stasis in planners' ideas, challenging limits to thinking such as administrative boundaries or lack or formal data. They can help navigate the expanding evidence base, and point up the most urgent priorities.

These findings were tested through a series of workshops, before final conclusions are drawn out to answer the research questions. The focus is on the role of local knowledge in spatial planning and diagram 8.3 presents the overarching points that were taken forward. The next chapter discusses the testing and then the last chapter gives conclusions.

Local knowledge	Local spatiality	Learning with the community	Process factors
•Locality focused & multiple place linkages •Holistic inter-connected topics •Causation explained by personal experience	•Physical & social aspects of lived space •No pre-constituted ideas of scale •Issues don't exist in an isolated 'local place'	•Countering abstraction & broadening evidence •Building up understandings of scenarios •Revealing policy priorities	•Discourse of place issues (not options) •Lay collaborator status •Collaboration between different professionals

Diagram 8.3: Synthesis of key findings, by 4 interlocking themes

Chapter 9: Testing the case study findings

9.1 The validation wave

Findings from the three case study stages have been synthesised in chapter 8 and this second wave of research assessed the validity of those findings. The synthesised findings focus on the potential of local knowledge in learning for spatial planning (see diagram 8.3 in the previous chapter for a brief overview). The validation wave took the form of a series of workshops with planning practitioners and others. This allowed triangulation of the interpretations made from the embedded data. The main aim was to see whether the dynamics and held true outside the context of the North Northamptonshire core strategy review (see chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of the purposes of the validation wave).

The general format of the workshops has been described in detail in chapter 4. Briefly speaking, the conceptual framework and synthesised findings were presented to new actors involved in planning in England. They were then asked to take part in an exercise simulating 'learning with local knowledge for planning'. These exercises are the focus of this chapter and details of the design and method of the exercises are given in chapter 4.

For the exercise, the workshop participants organised themselves into self-selected groups. They were given an A3 sized map, and selected community quotations from the case study. They were invited to attempt to create planning policy in groups with reference to the materials. Quotations from the community represented the knowledge from the North Northamptonshire community actors, they were not edited other than for anonymity. The quotations were presented on worksheets together with the following probes: what is the main strategic issue?; what is your policy response?; what other neighbourhoods might be affected?; and do you need to bring in any other collaborators? These probes encouraged the workshop participants to mimic the work of the planners in case study. The worksheets were distributed in a stratified random way to ensure each group had a range of subject matter.

Workshop participants absorbed the community quotations, debated them as a group and tried to construct policy that took them into account. They wrote their responses onto the worksheets and also gave feedback to the plenary group. The analysis of this process and the output is described in detail in the rest of this chapter. Excerpts from the worksheets, and recordings from the group-work and plenary feedback, are cited throughout and listed in appendix C. Alphanumeric codes (e.g. Lix)

shown in brackets are references to the appended listing and archive references (Archive B) relate to the archive of audio recording transcripts.

Analysis of the planners' reflections in the workshops supported much of the original findings, but added some caveats and refinements. The results of the testing are presented in the rest of this chapter and Box 9.1 shows the key concerns. They fall under three distinct areas which are dealt with in turn: local knowledge (section 9.2); knowledge dynamics (9.3); and processes (9.4). In conclusion, section 9.5 summarises the key points and implications of from the validation wave.

Key issues for testing:

- The character and spatiality of local knowledge:
  - How is it constructed?
  - How are topics approached?
  - How is causation understood?
  - What idea of 'space' emerges?
  - Do local issues relate to patterns/flows?
- The dynamics of local knowledge in spatial planning
- The critical factors of process

Box 9.1: Areas of focus for the testing, concerning the synthesised finding

9.2 The character & spatiality of local knowledge

Knowledge of local communities

The first area of testing was 'knowledge of local places'. From the literature review, this was understood to be constructed from fine grain local knowledge of lived space and multiple communities. In the case study, local knowledge was shown to contain a complex array of multiple voices densely linked to each other and associated with many overlapping issues. Workshop exercises independently supported that observation. Practitioners perceived different communities within the local knowledge quotations and thus validated that case study finding. Further to this, the workshops added a layer of specificity, and demonstrated more precisely how planners learn about communities.

Participants built a shared understanding of place-based community, through quotations which they read on workshop handouts. They perceived multiple, distinctive communities within a locality, as North Northamptonshire planners had done during community engagement events of the core strategy review. In reading individual quotations and identifying the origin of the person who had been quoted, they predominantly saw multiple community groupings for any place. Often there were different needs-based groups of local people. For example, comments were made about community groups with opposing characteristics, such as private or public ownership of their homes (LIV). In formulating a response the issue was described as divisions *in* a community rather than between communities (LII, LI). Such community groupings were spontaneously described and recorded by the participants, even where no policy response was possible. This mirrored the results of the case study analysis.

Case study findings strongly suggested that local knowledge comprised complex, place-based communities. This was replicated in workshops, where community groups were defined in a variety of ways. People were 'bonded' by shared activities and resources as well as by common issues, difficulties or needs. Different groupings could be inferred from an expression of need. For example, the issue of participation in sport and community events was interpreted both as "lack of community facilities" and as "lack of community spirit" in an area (Lvi). Communities could also be united as a community of 'place interest', for example across the broad area of a train service (LIX). Communities were partly defined by residential neighbourhood, but they could also include business people and landowners (Lvi, Lviii).

In addition to seeing multiple groups within communities, workshop participants perceived that people within communities were simultaneously united and divided with each other. This differs

from the idea of multiplicity, which lacks the idea of people being linked in multiple ways, but does not invalidate it. Whereas the idea of multiple communities indicates many discrete groups, the communities described here are more complex. That is to say that people within a location are associated with each other in many different ways. As participants looked at the multiplicity of community voices they could not observe a simple 'issue-based' group or focus on distinct separate communities. Instead the overlaps and interaction of communities were the main points of interest, and the policy response was always based on the idea of a broad overarching community, or on the divisions and commonalities within it. As such each community was 'multivalent' in a way that had not been observed in the individual interactions during engagement stage of the case study. A secondary point is that communities' issues can be linked to multiple locations across wider areas, and this is discussed below.

Constructing local space

Concepts of space are inevitably complex but the literature review and the case study have provided a focus on what is distinctive about the spatiality of local knowledge in the context of spatial planning. Local knowledge in spatial planning has been found to represent lived space and constructs visions of local communities and local places. The validation workshops went further and demonstrated that from the planners' perspective, community actors are not simply talking about narrow concepts of backyards or streets and villages in which they live. In the context of spatial planning a different spatiality emerges from local knowledge. This spatiality nuances what can be said about the role of established notions of 'local' scale in spatial planning.

In the case study, local knowledge manifested both social and physical aspects of space, and this finding was also supported by the validation work. Workshop participants remarked on tangible and intangible elements of places which they found within the quotations. They discussed both the location and funding of banking services as well as associated skills and issues of equity (Archive ix). Similarly, sports facilities were said to manifest 'community spirit' as well as being a sports ground (Archive vi).

Although the communities had notional residential locations, wider space both physically and socially was implicit and brought out into the workshop exercises. Participants' discussions covered the site and quality of physical connections between settlements, as well as how people used them. Workshop materials asked which areas might be affected by the issues that were described in the quotations. This question encouraged workshop participants to consider which localities were implicit in the local knowledge. The localities associated with the quotations were more widely

construed than the named settlement; as local knowledge was interpreted for spatial planning local issues became more dispersed across space.

Participants specifically considered which areas would be affected either by a 'local' issue or by the policy response to that issue. The views expressed suggested that narrower areas affected by an issue could easily be seen by planners as irrelevant to strategy, even though an issue originated there. For example, a quotation that suggested a problem on a housing estate was a "localised issue" (LII) and did not require a planning solution. The workshop participants stated that the solution was for communities on that estate to talk to each other.

In every case where a planning response was formulated by a group, the area they considered to be affected was wider than the 'local place'. The 'affected areas' comprised either a set of adjacent settlements, larger parts of the surrounding region including the larger towns or all settlements of a particular type across the wider region. More widely constituted issues could also embrace concepts of larger places rather than communities per se. For example (Archive -II-) where the issue of a village was construed as affecting a wider rural area, the affected areas included the three core towns (Archive 6). In the couple of instances where local issues were seen to be purely local, they were either framed as non-planning issues (Lviii), or said to better dealt with 'internally' by a community because they concerned local residents' relationships with each other (LIV). Instead of embracing local places within a strategy, the validation work produced visions of space that involved multiple 'local places'. Only, when a 'local place' was not physically and socially associated with a wider area, for example the issue of a residential block, it was not considered relevant to spatial planning.

Multiple scales were implicitly part of workshop discussions. For example in responding to a quotation about a village needing a sports pavilion (Archive vi), the village, the surrounding region, and the national level were all involved in the discussions. This mirrored the finding of the case study where planners focused on different scales, but in the re-testing, possibly because of the shorter time frame for the work, the workshop participants produced scales simultaneously. This gave a kaleidoscopic image of multiple and associated places and institutions, rather than different scales one at a time.

Issues came with a sense of scale, but scale was re-negotiated on determining a planning response to the issue. For the spatial planning exercise the scale of any issue was not automatically framed as local, regional or national, but scale was very noticeably 'constructed'. 'Planning issues' notionally involved many different scales. Issues that participants defined as 'local' either only affected people

living in the local area, or could only be resolved by local actors, and were less likely to have a planning response.

Smaller scales were explicit in quotations for villages and implicit in thinking about the neighbourhood communities within larger towns, which were automatically associated with other communities that were also affected by the issue described in that quotation. Larger scales appeared through operational and planning considerations. Regional and national scales could be part of the planning response when they could resource a policy solution, e.g. national funding or regional policy partner. For example a quotation about diversifying local employment and developing the service sector was said to involve the local business forum, the Department for Trade and Industry and local education facilities (L-9-).

In re-testing the case study findings around knowledge of local space, its physical and social elements were reiterated. Communities were centred on a local point in space, but the validation exercise showed that this 'local fix' could operate within spatial planning in two different ways. Depending on the scale of the physical and social elements involved, local space could relate either to a local scale, in which case there was no strategic response, or to a wider scale, in which case a response was possible. This reaffirmed that spatial planning with local knowledge can produce a distinctive view of 'local' space. In addition, negotiating local space was shown to be a critical starting point for strategy-making. Points about process factors and knowledge dynamics are discussed in the following two sections.

Approaching lived space topics

The second area of testing was the joined-up aspect of local knowledge, whereby topics areas were intertwined. In the case study, it seemed that communities had a holistic approach to space, unfettered by policy silos and built around understandings of 'quality of life'. By contrast planners drew on rationales derived from area of policy focus such as 'the environment' or 'housing'. As such, local knowledge in spatial planning involved a broader range of topics than other knowledges and emphasised connections between them. Validation results agreed with the holistic policy aspect of local knowledge and showed the implications of different learning contexts.

In the workshops, the relatively brief quotations sparked wide ranging discussions. These discussions demonstrated that the breadth of local knowledge was recognised by a wide range of planners. The community quotations were unpacked across a range of topics, the main ones being: exclusion/community spirit; transport; access to service; leisure facilities; spatial justice/control of assets; communications; green space; design; crime; health; housing; education; and employment.

When planners formally recorded an 'issue' they directly referenced at least two topic areas and in most cases three or more. Just as the embedded research had suggested, local knowledge took a holistic rather than a topic-wise view of issues.

Although workshop participants were easily able to identify issues, they had lengthy deliberations around how these issues related to planning. It appeared that participants found it challenging to connect holistic issues directly to policy making. The workshop groups generally began by asking each other 'what is this about?' or similar questions. The discussions around the relevance of quotations may be explained in part by their being transplanted from their original context, but they also highlight the distinctive, holistic nature of local knowledge.

The quotations were read in various ways. Mostly participants tried to understand the 'types' of issue by relating them back to more familiar policy areas. In the recordings of participants' discussions there were frequently long conversations around what 'type' of issue they were looking at. In one fairly typical instance, a group discussed a short quotation on bus shelters for around 10 minutes attempting to decide what 'type' of issue it was (Archive II). In turn they suggested it might be about 'safety', 'services', 'access', 'community identity', 'design', 'community' and ended up asking "is it a planning issue?". The case study had also suggested that topics were a different 'type' to those normally used in planning and more akin to lived space than to spatial planning's more abstracted space.

In deliberating the 'type' of issue, participants sometimes found it hard to articulate 'holistic issues' using planning terminology. For instance, one group discussed many different types of investment that might be needed in response to a quotation, suggesting that there would be 'stagnation' of a village's population. They had many ideas such as promoting retail space, improving bus services and creating opportunities for younger people to direct local change. When they tried to document their ideas they found it hard to describe them as 'policy responses'. They wanted to connect their strategy-making to the community's issue but struggled to find appropriate language (Archive -12-).

These points validated the case study finding that local knowledge is holistic of topic and can have relevance to planning. They also demonstrate the limits to lived space topics since they pertain more closely to quality of life. Interpretations must be made to community knowledge as it often goes beyond the boundaries of planning subject matter. Re-testing thus demonstrates how knowledge mediation and communication between planners and communities is critical when relevant matters are defined collaboratively. Specific lessons around communication and related processes are presented in the later sections of this chapter.

Understanding experiential causality

One of the main characteristics of local knowledge was that it was built on personal experiences and therefore had 'experiential causality'. A portion of the quotations dealt specifically with causality and gave explanations from communities about why their locality needed growth or not. Systematic analysis of participants' queries reinforced the case study finding that local knowledge had experiential causality. It also demonstrated the difficulties with this experiential rationality.

This type of causality was clearly recognised by the workshop participants. From the quotations, some groups recorded what the 'main issue' was in terms of the local experiences, e.g. stating that local people might be experiencing the effects of a wider economic decline (L-6-) or feeling isolation in old age (Archive -12-). In one instance a planner was even able to relate his own personal experience of the locality of the quotation in order to help explain the rationale that was being used (Archive 2).

Planners clearly understood and related to the personal specificity of the knowledge that allowed them to establish 'local issues', but they were more hesitant about its application to strategy-making. In some instances workshop participants remarked that this was simply a generalised 'rural issue', and did not engage with the explanations offered by the quotations. Others debated the validity of personal experience in the design of policy. Most frequently, when the workshop participants considered experiential causality they characterised it as subjective and therefore less valid than other types of causality. In a typical instance, the quotation stated that the village needed to grow in order to attract new business (L-9-) and the discussions surrounded whether this was the prevalent view and what statistical data existed to back it up. Again for example there were queries about whether the community's position on growth had sufficient depth of understanding (e.g. Archive-5-).

Enquiries around the validity of experiential causality did not reject local knowledge outright, but the argumentation was that further substantiation was required. Workshop participants typically embraced the premises of the quotations but said that various types of extra data would be needed before determining strategy. They were cautious about applying experiential causality in two ways. Firstly, participants sometimes thought that other means of establishing causation would have more force in a policy making environment. Most commonly, it was argued that the community's explanations might be worth investigating further with market appraisals or historical data (e.g. Archive -5-). In these instances, the implication was not that experiential causation was 'unscientific' or untrue, but simply that it might be rejected by others. Methods of testing suggested typically included the production of quantitative data rather than in-depth qualitative work. Secondly, participants sometimes thought that local causality might be based on unusual premises and

therefore not reliable for policy making, although it was internally consistent. They frequently asked for more personal details of the respondent and the history of their time living in the local area (e.g. Archive 3). They also commonly said that further dialogue with the community would be needed to help understand the circumstances or the logic.

Workshop participants' reactions to local knowledge supported the researchers' original interpretations about personal experiences underpinning the knowledge with ideas of causation. Their reservations about experiential causality confirm that spatial planners can experience difficulties with such causality outside the context of the case study. Knowledge dynamics associated with causality are discussed in 9.3. Planners' reactions to the quotations suggest that data practices and planners' attitudes could affect the knowledge dynamics. Such 'contextual factors' are discussed in section 9.4.

Envisioning patterns

Analysis of the case study indicated that local knowledge might help in understanding spatial patterns, but not on its own. Systematic assessment of the workshop data re-tested and validated this case study finding. The validation workshop material was brief and the quotations succinct. Despite this, the exercises demonstrated emergent spatial patterns and implications for spatiality.

Workshop exercises found that patterns were perceived as the various planners deliberated the community quotations. Knowledge of patterns was not embedded in communities or 'dispersed' across a relevant area. Instead, patterns were co-constructed by the planners and communities. The workshop exercises provided an effective demonstration of planners responding to community input. This gave the chance to demonstrate how patterns emerged.

In spatial planning theory, 'patterns' are the spatial manifestations of human activities. In the case study, this meant mainly commuting, shopping and leisure activities, and the physical urban configurations associated with them. That was echoed in the workshop where activities of communities were suggested by quotations. Participants took daily activities to be part of a wider trend, just as they had related each issue to a wider area, i.e. beyond the locality of the quotation.

The case study had suggested local knowledge would explain patterns, rather than produce patterns. This was partially validated as quotations were interpreted as indicative of a 'known' pattern. Workshop participants frequently suggested that issues were in fact shared problems of settlement typologies across a wider area, for example small rural settlements such as the difficulties in accessing employment or accessing facilities (Bvi). There was even a suggestion that one area might pilot a policy around lighting on school routes for other similar areas (Lviii).

At the same time, the workshop demonstrated weaknesses of local knowledge in explaining patterns. In particular, issues tended to center on a local area and encouraged a view of impacts which rippled outwards across the surrounding area. A typical instance was the quotation about a negative image of an area. This was read as the effects of industrial decline rippling outwards with the fate of one town impacting on other areas and the decline of jobs in the whole area (BIIX). This meant that the discussions were 'centripetal' or built around a central point.

Since workshop participants were explicit about community interactions and activities around a central point, they had to convert 'centripetal' ideas into descriptions of spatial patterns. For example where a village was in favour of new housing because it forced up the price of housing (Archive -5-), it was argued that a longer term view should be taken of the housing market and demographics. Again for example, the difficulties experienced by one town in accessing medical facilities were discussed as part of regional service provision (L6).

Two points about patterns emerge from the validation. Firstly, it supports the case study finding that local knowledge is used to test patterns. Planners did not set out with an idea of 'flows' as proposed by spatial planning theory. The validation wave was necessarily artificial, since the planners did not have the type of background knowledge of the area that they would have done in practice. The result was that patterns were produced rather than tested. Even so they still tested their general ideas about possible patterns, which added strength to the previous conclusion from stage 3 of the case study, that this was how local knowledge is used. Secondly, the validation showed that patterns are produced by spatial planners and suggests that local knowledge has a particular effect on this work. Specifically, the nature of the exercises meant that patterns were primarily associated with a particular site. Constructing spatial patterns using community quotations demonstrates the knowledge dynamics, and this is explored in the next section.

9.3 Local knowledge dynamics

Premises

This section moves on, from local knowledge itself, to examine the ways in which knowledge was collaboratively produced with local knowledge. In addition to examining the character of local knowledge, the case study looked at the production of knowledge for spatial planning within the joint planning unit. It showed that there was a particular culture of knowledge in making spatial strategy built on quantified data and formalised 'evidence'. The workshop exercises allowed a second round of even closer observation of the knowledge dynamics of spatial planning when dealing with informal knowledge.

Having looked at the daily working practices of planners from an embedded position in the case, it is methodologically important to test the results with other practitioners. The culture of the planners in the case study, for instance, could have an impact. There was a strong culture of abstracting knowledge in the daily practices and local knowledge was perceived to have a particular effect on that culture. The validation wave allowed the research to revisit this issue and presented a picture of the emergent knowledge where communities are engaged in the work of spatial planning.

The case study found that local knowledge was, informally, an integral part of practice. Preparations for community engagement showed the aspects of knowledge of particular interest, and how planners were developing explicit and tacit expectations of local knowledge. The planners in the case study had encountered some difficulties in moving towards a position from which they could make policy decisions, when trying to base them on better understandings of, or more certainty around, local details. They thought that local knowledge could address at least some of those difficulties and had indicated that dialogue with communities could help in:

- Understanding 'local identity'
- Determining 'appropriateness' of services to need
- Identifying heritage, cultural & other assets

The validation wave allowed examples of local knowledge from the case study data to be re-interpreted, giving an artificial replication of the co-construction of planning knowledge with lay knowledge. This took the research one step further in examining the knowledge dynamics and provided new insight about dynamics. It highlighted the importance of the distinction between information and rationalities. The lessons confirm the reframing potential of local knowledge and shed light on the epistemic difficulties, where community engagement is a learning arena for spatial planning.

Abstraction

The original case study research found that local knowledge was built with evidence from material experiences and was much less abstracted than the technical evidence of professional knowledge. The validation wave demonstrated how local knowledge was integrated into spatial strategies and this shed light on the interaction of the different knowledges. As participants worked up policy responses to the quotations, local knowledge was embraced but only partially absorbed.

Definitions of 'the community' suggested by workshop participants transcended the 'lived space' of local knowledge. As suggested in the previous section, understandings of 'the community' were broadened and the deliberations developed a picture of wider, 'multivalent' stakeholder communities. For example the transport issue of one settlement became a larger issue reifying the notion of regional community and "generally everyone" (Archive IX) who would benefit. The local issue was transposed into the strategy-making as an issue of public interest.

Thinking in conceptual terms, as the case study planners tended to do, often 'abstracted' communities and placed them at distance from the original stakeholder locality. This was seen at the workshop when participants reiterated the issues raised by communities in their own terms in order to underscore their validity. For example, a quotation from one of the larger towns stated that "we need to attract new business" but when this was expressed as a planning issue it was "lack of employment opportunities particularly for younger generations" (L-9-).

As the issues raised by local communities were abstracted, they were uncoupled from the local places. Local knowledge was seen as a part of a wider investigation of more broadly construed place issues and the area being considered was widened. A single, concrete, site-specific example was never enough on its own to create a policy. The needs of local communities became depersonalised as their feedback was built into wider statistical pictures, such as national demographics, where policy-making could draw on quantitative 'evidence'.

In this way the group work discarded the personal and site specific elements of local knowledge. This 'abstraction of local knowledge' was not predicted by the case study findings. On the contrary it had been thought that local knowledge would 'ground' planning knowledge. The context of the workshops, where planners were not face-to-face with communities, may have contributed to the lack of 'grounding'. It is unlikely, however, that this was the overriding factor. Workshop participants discarded personal and site specific elements, yet they did not appear unattached to the personal quandaries or the fate of the specific sites. On the contrary, they related emotionally to issues that were raised by local residents and expressed empathy and concern for those communities and place-issues, comparing them to their own place experiences and people they knew.

Discussions of strategy became abstracted, yet the original force of the logic used by communities remained. For instance where communities had complained about the distance they needed to travel to a school (L6) the workshop participants considered the whole sub-region's commuting patterns but still focused on achieving the lowest travel times. Explanations built on personal causality readily established the principles for policy responses, even where the experiential detail was discarded in the record of 'policy response'.

The logic from local knowledge that became part of policy responses was not simply adopted but frequently challenged and debated. Workshop participants often stated that "more research" would be needed to substantiate the causality expressed by the quotation. For instance they argued that a cost-benefit analysis was required to 'prove' that a village needed more housing (L-6-). In the given instance, demand is stated by a community actor and the response is that it needs to be measured. This does not question the logic of demand led housing provision but suggests difficulties in using experiential evidence to build the policy.

From these points, a dynamic emerges with two features. Firstly, the key 'evidence' used by the speaker, i.e. detailed information about their own experience, is dropped. This demonstrates the drive to formalise local knowledge, confirming the case study findings about the evidence culture of the planners at stage 2. Secondly, the residual argumentation can remain but must be expressed in terms of evidence that is more compatible to planning. The context for this dynamic is important as it relates to the culture of evidence.

Integration of topic

The case study had uncovered an integrative knowledge dynamic of spatial planning, where values associated with different topics could complement each other and reinforce an argument. In doing so they could produce a rationality that was more widely shared and therefore useful in a collaborative planning context. The case study also showed that local knowledge was 'holistic' and transcended policy boundaries. Local knowledge was therefore also expected to be useful for such 'joined-up solutions'. Analysis of the workshop exercises confirmed that local knowledge was 'holistic' and connected policy areas. Sometimes these connections were adopted as part of the strategic logic used by the planners. Local knowledge even encouraged joined-up thinking. However, the workshops showed that these points were not generalisable. The validation exercises demonstrated the limit to the integrative knowledge dynamic, and specified where it did not apply.

Where different topics overlapped and a solution was identified by the community workshop participants could easily relate to that logic, for example where health and green space were linked. Sometimes the logic bridging between two policy areas was easily adopted. In some cases it was

even translated straight into a policy response. The quotation which indicated that country walks and fitness were a priority for an area (Lvii) resulted in a policy response that included “green gyms” and “healthy travel plans”. Again for example (Lvi) where community cohesion was directly linked to the provision of recreational facilities, planners suggested that provision of sports venues would be a suitable policy response to the matter.

Re-testing showed where integration was not part of the knowledge dynamic. In the workshop exercises there were instances of integrative logic being rejected or reworked. Issues with relevance to several policy domains were transposed into other areas or a single policy area. For instance, the connection made between the small business sector and telecoms (Lv) was lost in the framing of the policy response. In that case it seems that discussions around where and how to provide telecoms were more fluent and fruitful when it was considered for its own sake rather than part of a package of services. In another example a quotation stated that low employment opportunities were due to the lack of variety in the local industry which focused on the connection between employment and industrial development. The workshop group indicated that local skill sets and transport were more relevant to employment (L-9-).

The holistic character of local knowledge was shown to derive from communities’ concern with quality of life. In some instances planners felt that the impact on quality of life was minimal. For example one quote gave an account of a local area with no banks and consequently the community needed to travel to a neighbouring area to access standard banking facilities (Lix). Better access to banks was not part of the solution, so the link between transport and retail was broken. In this case participants felt that learning about online banking opportunities made the transportation issue less relevant, and a more suitable policy response would be promoting education about banking and the internet.

The common theme throughout these points was ‘spatial justice’. Planners were attempting to create policy responses to improve places and this limited the scope of what could be considered relevant. If a ‘holistic logic’ was not related to a social dysfunction, such as social exclusion or unhealthy living, then it did not bridge the subjects well, and could be ignored by the planners. This challenges the finding that an integrative knowledge dynamic can be derived from local knowledge. It suggests that rationalities of spatial justice may constrain the integrative potential of local knowledge.

9.4 Contextual factors

Up to this point the chapter has looked at the response of planners to local knowledge, examining their interpretations of it and how they worked with it. This section explains how the context affected their responses and considers the implications. The setting of the workshop exercises was necessarily artificial but removed the daily political influences while allowing group work to encourage verbalisation and a discursive approach to learning (see chapter 4 for details of methodology). Practice experiences and 'spatialisation' continued to have a bearing on knowledge production. Since the workshop offered a new context, somewhat depoliticised and with a broad range of practitioners, it acted as a check on the findings. The analysis focused on whether findings were more generally true for planners in England.

Practice effects

Previous chapters have established the importance of abstraction in planners' deliberations and how local knowledge was typically less abstract. As the case study demonstrated, local knowledge becomes broad and abstracted in order to feed into spatial-strategy. The validation wave took this finding forward. This section considers how practice itself affects the knowledge dynamics of spatial planning. It considers the fundamental premises underlying practice rather than 'best practice' points. Two interrelated points about practice effects were suggested by the planners' reactions to local knowledge. Firstly, the working practices of evidence building can affect the knowledge dynamics. Secondly, the roles established for the community within spatial planning are critical. These points were established through the workshop exercises as follows.

The influence of professional habits was observed as workshop participants dealt with what they perceived as the more challenging quotations from communities. As their discussions evolved it was clear that experiential evidence and lived space rationales could sometimes be perceived as 'overly narrow'. This came out very strongly in the plenary sessions where planners stated that certain quotations demonstrated a particularly parochial attitude or exemplified clannishness. Some quotations were deliberately proposed as local knowledge as they regarded single estates or appeared narrow in outlook. These included an argument for a second post box and another similar quotation about a bus stop. The quotation about the post box (Lv) was indeed labelled NIMBY by the workshop participants.

Difficulties were initially experienced around how to feed these types of examples into strategy-making. Some participants were uncomfortable with them, saying they did not know 'where to start' (Archive B), and others were not confident that they could really tackle the issues, but said they would 'just give it a go' (Archive L). As planners continued to debate the 'narrow' issues it seemed

that with enough reflection they were able to read into the quotations or interpret them for policy making. For instance the post box was seen as symbolic of an underlying social issue. Similarly the bus stop was discussed as a generalised abstract issue around the difference between public and private spaces.

The context of the workshop intentionally promoted engagement with these challenging examples, in order to determine where any limits to such interactions might lie. The social situation of the workshop and the directive questioning in the exercise materials appeared to encourage participants to attempt to create policy from narrower issues. Professional experiences ran counter to this type of work. Some participants felt they recognised the 'type' of issue and e.g. recommended mediation within the community rather than discussion amongst planners.

In order to make spatial strategy, participants needed not only to abstract communities' issues but also to relate them to space. As discussed earlier, a broader notion of local place and local communities was used to relate issues to space. Considering all of the issues dealt with by the participants, most had at least some spatial relevance. Some participants found it harder than others to frame local issues as spatial matters.

Professional backgrounds influenced the planners' abilities to deal with local knowledge. Workshop participants undertook the same exercise in the same circumstances with the same briefing but they had diverse professional backgrounds. Experienced planning officers generally found it very easy to 'broaden' their quotations. They saw many connections outwards physically and upwards in terms of scale. This was true even for the very 'narrow' quotations where planners said they were considering the "bigger picture" (Archive B). Some even had difficulties deciding when to stop broadening and said "the issues could expand to cover everything" (Archive L).

Workshop participants who did not have a strong 'abstracted space' element in their daily work found this harder. For example a participant from the construction industry found very little relationship to space within the quotations and therefore dealt with issues solely as a general social policy concern, and took the lack of nursery facilities simply as an issue of low provision of necessary social services (L7). The speaker in the quotation was portrayed as 'consumer of a service' rather than 'member of a community' or 'resident of a place'. There was also no reading of how the place itself might be a relevant factor. By contrast others could read a great deal into the spatial aspects of low provision of any service and relate it to socio-spatial exclusion. In one instance, even the lack of ATM facilities was framed as low levels of community support (Bix).

Experience of dealing with strategy making seemed to include the skill of uncovering the spatial relevance of local knowledge. At the same time, planners did not simply accept local knowledge as fact, but tested its robustness. This 'testing' of local knowledge has been discussed in relation to the case study where formalisation underpins the production of spatial strategy. The validation workshops confirmed this process of substantiating local knowledge. Further, it uncovered how different habits of practice can influence the ways in which local knowledge is tested. The informational habits and 'evidence cultures' of the workshop participants were diverse and they had different impacts.

A set of quotations were selected for the workshops that proposed various local priorities. The planners suggested policies in response to these. Across the working groups it was repeatedly stated that these priorities would have to be 'proven'. They cited various sources of 'evidence' which they thought could substantiate the quotations or otherwise. They did not specifically seek to prove or disprove the points raised but they thought they would, in practice, need to add confidence with extra evidence.

The types of extra evidence brought to bear in the workshops appeared to relate to their professional experiences. Those who had more direct contact with communities suggested more engagement could be beneficial. Sometimes this was simply about having more detail about the issues. For instance where the speaker lived in a small settlement, which made it particularly difficult to access employment in a larger town nearby, they wanted to know the route and the transport options (Archive L). Other times they said that further rounds of engagement would more accurately reflect reality, e.g. giving a better representation of all of the local experiences of heavy traffic. Planning officers working for councils repeatedly recommended modeling, e.g. traffic flows (Archives II and 3), as they would be used to doing in their daily work.

Similarly, sources referenced appeared to be determined by previous experience rather than any methodological stance. This may be explained at least in part by the nature of the context and the limited time in which they were working. Nonetheless it demonstrated the power of informational habits which may be present when planners are working with knowledge from communities.

Some comments suggested that given more time multiple sources of evidence would emerge. Some participants continued to query the quotations towards the end of the exercise. For example one participant asked, "Is this the prevalent view? What are the current employment statistics? Is there a lack of public transport to these types of jobs that X is seen to be lacking?" (L-9-). There was a range

of possible sources of evidence and one or two might be dominant in any particular setting; as one planner put it “we do what we can measure” (Archive B).

The second area of consideration about practice effects was the role accorded to the community. In the case study planners had placed a lot of importance on having dialogue with local communities and establishing engagement processes. The validation wave mirrored this and in most of the group work participants demonstrated that they saw an important role for the community in planning.

No one questioned whether, in principle, community input was relevant for spatial policy, but there were queries around the types of issues the community would raise. The main practical concern was whether individuals might have malicious intentions towards others. In addition, there were repeated comments, that quotations were only valid if they did not represent an outlier, i.e. as long as they were not an extremely unusual or unrepresentative viewpoint. Such reactions suggested that in practice planners would mediate community involvement. Since the notion of an outlier implies an existing population it suggests planners’ habits of defining ‘local places’ and existing definitions of the usual community, would be critical.

In conclusion, the importance of practice habits was echoed throughout the exercises. Established practices could affect how planners and communities would be able to learn together. Professional backgrounds and evidence cultures were shown to have a bearing on learning with communities. Experience was important for developing the skills to relate local knowledge to space. Informational habits could affect the ‘testing’ of local knowledge. Practice habits of community involvement could be infused with a sense of ‘set pitch’ or appropriate scale of interaction. Earlier sections have suggested that communities’ views can inform planners’ ideas about ‘local place’ and so it should be noted that if such learning occurs it could counteract those practice effects.

Communicating space

Factors of communication are fundamental to any engagement. This research aims to go beyond factors of language, such as the well established issue of jargon, in order to understand what is particular to the context of spatial planning. It considers communication ‘of’ space. This means not only how knowledge of space is constructed, but also how it can be understood in common by planners and lay communities. Previous sections have presented case study and validation findings related to the production of knowledge of local space, and knowledge for spatial plans. This section turns to the factors of communication that relate to space. It analyses the ‘spatialisation’ of local knowledge and spatial strategies in the workshop, i.e. how they were communicated as spatial concepts.

The effect of attempting to construct spatial policy was re-tested in the practitioner workshops. The validation data demonstrates the 'spatialisation' of local knowledge within spatial planning deliberations, as planners move from reflecting on issues to constructing policy responses. This was seen in the responses to the questions on the exercise worksheets, and in the attempts at mapping the evolving spatial plans.

As participants completed the workshop exercises, they established common understandings between themselves of local issues and related areas. They verbalised connections between settlements, and in some instances they also drew diagrams of these on maps. In the main, mapping was a found to be a very difficult task and there are many possible explanations for the difficulty experienced. Some participants may not have been used to working with maps, the maps provided were fairly small and there were difficulties in finding the smaller villages at first. However, even when this had been corrected some difficulties remained around mapping.

There was no political or practical reason not to map the ideas. In the context of the workshop no political capital was at stake, therefore there should not have been any issues with marking at least approximately the area in question in that respect. Further investigations would be needed, including stakeholder involvement, to pinpoint those other places with confidence, but there were no expectations that the marking should be precise. Participants were able, when urged to do so, to make some visual representation of their ideas. Otherwise they did so mainly for reporting purposes rather than as part of their discussions. Five points can be made about the difficulties experienced with spatialising the discussions.

Firstly, quotations had been presented with the name of the settlement, and the first instincts of the participants were to search for the sites on the map. As groups moved to debate the problems and solutions, they also used the maps as a communicative tool, touching the maps and gesturing over them. The topographical content of the maps was occasionally referenced in debates, for instance to determine the approximate distance between settlements or the likely nature of a green space near a residential area. Nonetheless, maps were not automatically used for expressing policy.

Local issues were often generalised rather than related to specific areas, many examples of this have already been given above. They were discussed and described at a conceptual level rather than being defined physically at first. In such cases, taking policy decisions was a secondary stage and at that stage planners defined the physical areas involved. Similarly, policy solutions were not normally discussed in relation to a location at first. Instead they were couched as e.g. improving education, investing in a town centre or reducing traffic. In such cases, a further round of work would be

needed to add a spatial specificity to the general principle of the policy. When policies were less spatially specific, as in these examples, maps were not initially used.

Secondly, local knowledge tended not to encourage production of maps. Sometimes workshop participants worked on the basis of the community's a-scalar approach. For example where health care issues were seen as the top priority for a community (Archive I) for a small town, the human experience was discussed in depth. In the discussions space was not manifest either verbally or on a map, so communication was disconnected from physical space. However, when the group reflected using the map they were able to 'spatialise' the issue, and discussed whether the surrounding villages might be made into a 'cluster' for service provision.

Where planners kept to pre-constituted ideas of local scale, they thought they did not need to produce a spatial plan. For example, one village did not have any activities for young people and wanted the core strategy to address that gap. Workshop participants said this was not appropriate because no money would be provided at the regional or national level for such a problem. Two people from that group said that "things that are desired at the county level are unlikely to be provided for anyway" (LVI) and they felt the issue should be "bounced back to local people" (ibid). The community thought that the issue could be relevant to actors at a wider scale, but in this instance the planners were bounded by politics, and there was no attempt to 'spatialise' the issue either in discussions or on a map.

Thirdly, local knowledge was sometimes uprooted and the policy solution appeared unrelated to the original site of the quotation. To explain this point it is worth considering an example policy, that of "have village clusters" (Archive B) which was the solution suggested by the local community to the issue of isolated aging populations. The planners intended to address the social problem with a spatial strategy. The issue of where the clusters were needed was temporarily put aside while agreeing the principle of the matter. Although the principle of clustering was determined for a particular location, the original place had become tacit knowledge. So even where e.g. a village had been found on the map and marked for the discussions that group was not explicit about which places could be involved in the policy, and did not even name the original settlement when reporting back to the plenary group.

Fourthly, space needed to be fluid during spatial-strategy making. As planners were building visions of space, they initially specified a settlement with its location and then discussed the issue in conceptual terms. As they did so, they were self-reflexive and worked iteratively, remarking on their own work. For example several participants noted that their group was discussing creating similar

responses for different places and others queried how far the issue of one place should be transposed to other areas.

Fifthly, the multivalency of the places defined in discussions was extremely hard to sketch in 2D. Briefly, issues were broadening out from the original settlement to a more complex understanding of the relevant 'place', which operated at different scales simultaneously. These ideas did not lend themselves to mapping. In conclusion, this suggests that the complexity of space could impair effective communication in the workshop either as a verbal or mapped expression of the physical implications of the local issues and spatial strategy.

These five points exemplify the difficulties in communicating space. They suggest that expressing knowledge topologically would be useful to spatial policy, as it involves establishing location and negotiating ideas of local place. They also demonstrate how unfamiliar such a process would be.

9.5 Validity & implications of the findings

The validation workshops re-tested the case study findings and showed the influence of contextual factors, which were related to processes of collaborative strategy-making. The exercise confirmed most of the findings about learning and knowledge dynamics. This second wave of the research surrounded learning about communities in spatial planning and, together with the analysis of context, helped move the research closer to addressing the original research questions. Overall, the results reaffirm the role of local knowledge in spatial planning and highlight issues surrounding it.

Validation supported most of the original assertions about the nature of local knowledge. It confirmed that local knowledge in spatial planning involved a shared understanding of places and 'contained' useful groupings and various types of communities. It went further and demonstrated how communities were multivalent rather than multiple, i.e. people operated at different scales and were bonded across different areas simultaneously rather than being simply divided into groups. The testing also confirmed the holistic nature of local knowledge and the broad range of strongly connected topics within it. It challenged the idea that this holistic aspect could be communicated and become part of the knowledge base for spatial planning. Likewise experiential causality of local knowledge was confirmed, but with caveats around its potential for spatial strategy.

The spatiality of local knowledge that had been found in the case study was likewise supported by the validation work. Re-testing also found that local knowledge involved lived space and demonstrated how planners reacted to it. The workshops enabled closer observations of local knowledge becoming part of spatial strategy. It showed how planners were negotiating 'local space' and most often rejecting notions of a local scale. The case study showed how local knowledge had potential in constructing patterns. The validation work demonstrated the tendency for this to stimulate centripetal patterns. All of these findings helped in thinking about knowledge dynamics at the second wave of the research.

The case study results had indicated that the critical knowledge dynamics were abstraction and integration. Validation replicated the original finding, as knowledge of communities was transformed into conceptualised and abstract ideas. Local knowledge only grounded knowledge in as much as it provided a central fix on a local place. The integrative dynamic of local knowledge that was found in the case study was called into question by the validation results. It seemed that issues of social equity and spatial justice would take precedence over joined up thinking.

Both formal and informal processes were assessed through the workshop. They were explicitly discussed by the planners and the research analysis also took the exercises into account. Practical

barriers were considered and the organic nature of lay knowledge was part of the reflections, yet the most important contextual factors were professional experiences and habits of practice. A culture of embracing local knowledge and experience of working with abstracted space were critical to learning. Informational habits were shown to have a strong bearing on how open planners would be to local knowledge, in practice. The role for the community was reaffirmed with some caveats. Attitudes to spatial effects and views on the 'pitch' of involvement would affect the mediation of local knowledge and therefore the learning dynamics. In conclusion, the quality of spatial communication and the ability to spatialise issues were seen to underpin all dialogue between the community and spatial planners.

In the research framework, knowledge is collaborative and situated. Through the empirical work it became clearer that knowledge within spatial planning collaborations was built with information and rationalities. In order to create spatial strategy, planners built knowledge with a shared rationality (often both technical and relational), which they could substantiate with explicit information that could be documented.

The results suggest two worlds of knowledge, which planners move between. As the worlds of knowledge interact, information and rationalities evolve. These worlds can be described as 1 and 2 below, though they do not necessarily appear in that order.

1. A creative future-oriented rationale supported by information about
    a. conceived spatial patterns, trends & functions
    b. stakeholder buy-in to a proposed policy or set of actions, both in principle and in terms of resources
2. A local rationale of present places supported by evidence of
    a. personal experiences and behaviours
    b. expectations and possible reactions to the impacts of a given policy

In the 'learning arena' of community engagement in spatial planning, knowledge is framed by ideas of space. Any spatial rationale must be commonly understood by all actors yet different actors have a different approach to space. Lay actors and professional actors will bring different rationalities. Learning depends to a great extent the scope of information involved and that scope can be determined by the scale of space that is taken into consideration.

Returning to the original research questions about the reframing potential of local knowledge within collaborative spatial planning, this study suggests that local knowledge might indeed change the thinking behind a strategy. Depending on the processes used lay collaborators can contribute to

determining the scope of evidence. Lay rationales might also re-orient the spatial rationale by demonstrating the components of a multivalent community. Local knowledge can challenge the spatial patterns behind a spatial strategy, and provide an arena of testing.

A further conclusion surrounds the implications for theories of community engagement. This research found that the concept of a community, within the context of strategy making, was built in relation to space, and the notion of a place-based community always needed go beyond simple divisions along interest groupings or commonalities. The many scales of interest were in reality also matters of scale, and communities existed 'multivalently', i.e. every person relates to many places at once rather than having a single dominant place identity. Each community could simultaneously be a winner on one scale while losing on another. This potentially uncouples knowledge from political concepts of stakeholders, certainly for community engagement in spatial planning.

Findings from the case study have in the main stood up to the scrutiny of the workshops. Drawing on this testing the research questions can be addressed with confidence. Chapter 10 proceeds to draw conclusions from the results of the empirical work and testing, and provides a final position towards the research questions about socio-spatial learning.

Chapter 10: Conclusions on community engagement & planning knowledge

10.1 Overview of the findings

As explained at the outset, the objective of this thesis was to explore the knowledge and learning that existed where there was lay involvement in spatial planning. The underlying purpose of this study was to better understand the potential of lay knowledge in learning for spatial planning, based on the premises in the literature that learning is a fundamental component of non-tokenist community engagement. As a theoretical construct such learning would be both 'social', as it would exist within communities of practice, and 'spatial', as it would necessarily pertain to planning concerns. A new terminology 'socio-spatial learning' thus emerged from the conceptual work of the thesis (chapters 2 and 3), and a conceptual framework (chapter 4) was created along with a series of research questions. An embedded study was conducted of a live case of community engagement in spatial planning (chapters 5 to 8) followed by validation work (chapter 9). The findings from the whole of the study are presented in this chapter. Section 10.2 presents answers to the primary and secondary research questions. Methodological reflections and implications for both practice and theory are considered next (sections 10.3, 10.4 and 10.5 respectively), and finally section 10.6 suggests future avenues that might be explored. The rest of this section summarises the findings and gives a personal statement on the research exercise, before more detailed and practical discussions of the following sections.

The case study of community engagement in spatial planning in England was conducted between 2009 and 2011, and interim findings were tested in late 2011. The case of community engagement in spatial planning was a favourable one, where socio-spatial learning, involving the co-production of knowledge about space in a 'socio-spatial learning arena', was expected to occur if such a phenomenon did indeed exist. The analysis showed that knowledge was a product of information and rationalities within the collaborative spatial planning work, and this helped articulate the learning that occurred. The findings concern the various understandings of space and how they changed, and can be summarised as follows.

Community engagement in spatial planning was a social learning arena for planning, although there were difficulties related to learning with experiential knowledge of space. Difficulties resulted from conflicting rationalities of scale, assumptions about commonality of spatial elements, and the communication of knowledge of space built with experiential causality. Rationalities regarding scale,

locality and community were in continual flux. Some types of rationalities were less likely to change, especially those on which 'spatial visioning' depended. Rationalities of spatial governance were reworked, and planners gained a more complex understanding of actor roles. That knowledge of spatial governance was not 'co-produced', i.e. not shared by the community, and therefore it remained outside of the 'learning arena'.

Spatial rationalities of planners were distinctive, and pertained to scale and place relationships. They tended to understand space through rationalities of multiple scales and functional dependencies. They worked with scales in a fluid way in order to construct possible future regions and reworked functional interdependencies of the places for which they were planning. Planners' rationalities concerning how to learn about space were mainly collaborative and contextual. They built knowledge by referencing evidence in a wide range of policy areas and limited its evolution based on notions of relevance to the area context, i.e. in this case the sub-region.

Communities' learning rationalities were also distinctive and contrasted to those of planners. The strongest lay rationalities were those of experiential causality and quality of life. Lay actors focused on space that was 'local' but not in the common sense of the word. Individuals' understandings were layered and complex, giving a 'multi-valent' rationality. Places that communities talked about were of a smaller scale than those of the planners, but they were more densely constructed and more 'dispersed'. Because lay knowledge about space was experiential, the learning culture tended to be one of retrospective and comparative analyses. Communities built evidence in a longitudinal and personal way, and included others' experiences as well as their own.

In the context of spatial visioning with lay and planning actors, there were particular knowledge dynamics. Issues of scale and functional relationships dominated the planning work. Planners' visioning involved collaboration and spatialisation, i.e. the identification of place forms and spatial relationships (and frequently also the mapping of these). That visioning had certain tendencies in relation to knowledge, which were: a bias towards the reliability of scientific evidence; a default position towards existing administrative boundaries; and the propensity to abstract new evidence. Those tendencies often occurred in parallel and their combined effects are paraphrased, in this thesis, as 'narrowing forces'.

Lay rationalities appeared to complement the visioning process, but there were difficulties around visioning with local knowledge. Communities' visions of places were centred on a residential node that could not be part of wider visions. Local rationalities of place quality, e.g. where a town centre suited a personal aesthetic, were therefore only temporarily introduced into the learning area, and

ultimately reconciled with wider notions of place quality, e.g. sustaining natural resources. By contrast, although local evidence was regarded as weak, and rarely spatialised by community actors (as planners did for other evidence), it was still used to test the reality of planners' views on quality. Local residents and planners had different rationalities of 'the community'. Evidences (sic) of what constituted 'the community' were often in direct opposition to each other, but used in combination. This produced a dual definition of 'the community', which was useful in the learning arena but problematic in other parts of the spatial planning work.

A typology of 'relevance to spatial planning' was created from the spatial elements in the learning arena. Elements, which were introduced from across the range of actors, fell into seven categories: patterns across the sub-region; human impacts; boundaries; higher scales and functions; central nodes in a local place; multiple relationships in a local area; and problems in the practical functioning of places. This demonstrates the disparate nature of the subject matter, and helps understand how rationalities of 'relevance' conflict. It also underscores that the category of 'human impact' was central to both lay and planning actors.

Factors of planning policy that were seen in the spatial visioning, included the roles of the community, the modes of engagement and the perceived purposes of learning with lay actors. Those factors were reworked, which shows the planners displayed flexibility around lay involvement in collaborative spatial governance. Initially, planners mooted spatial options for critique by collaborators and communities as a means to spatial visioning. Later, planners began to have specific expectations of what types of knowledge they could more usefully absorb, e.g. employment expectations of the logistics industry, through learning with the community, but those ideas were not explicitly shared with the community. Therefore, this last finding about reworked knowledge did not occur within the socio-spatial learning arena.

Having made efforts to distance myself from the analysis, to maintain my own objectivity and lack of bias in reading the case, I would now like to make a personal statement about the research findings. Given my goal of establishing the spatial nature of communities' knowledges, it was necessary to put the power dimension as a secondary consideration, and this may give a false impression of my own position. The write-up of these findings was very challenging because I needed to make the split between author and subject. The process was iteratively writing and reflecting, in order to assess the voice I was using, and with the help of others to check where I could be speaking in a 'non-researcher' voice. My research background includes a lot of quantitative work and this probably influenced my style of writing to some degree but my aim was always to be robust and accurate, rather than simply to appear detached. Having reflected on the feedback I have received on my final

drafts I realise that there is a risk that I might be seen as neutral in terms of the outcomes of planning processes.

In fact I believe that if in the end the knowledge produced through community engagement fails to improve the quality of life of communities and help those most in need, no matter how useful it is for constructing visions of space, then it will have no value. I hope that by producing a better understanding of the knowledge dynamics of community engagement in spatial planning my research can be used to support progressive planning, and improve communication between planners and communities. I was particularly struck by how the findings unsettled the role of knowledge in planning, and the difference between the fluency of dialogue between planners and communities about complex spaces and the terse nature of the eventual records of these dialogues. With this in mind the rest of this chapter presents the research findings as answers to the initial questions, and then outlines their implications, reflecting on: the research methods; planning practice; theory; and possible future avenues for exploration.

10.2 Addressing the research questions

The starting point for this thesis was the review of literature about participatory planning and spatial planning, mainly from the UK and the USA. A gap was perceived in the current body of work, around the knowledge dynamics where lay and professional actors engage for spatial planning purposes. A basic premise of that work is that knowledge is 'socially constructed', but most theories focused on how power relations were produced rather how knowledge was constructed. This led to two 'primary research questions' targeted at socio-spatial learning or conceptual learning as it relates to space (PRQ 1 and PRQ2 in box 10.1), and four supporting 'secondary research questions' (SRQ 3-6). Given the substantial build up provided by the previous chapters, this section begins by presenting the answers to the overarching questions (PRQ 1 & 2). It then gives more details with the answers to the supporting questions (SRQ 3 - 6).

Primary research questions:

PRQ 1 Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?
PRQ 2 What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?

Secondary research questions:

SRQ 3 What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?
SRQ 4 What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?
SRQ 5 What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?
SRQ 6 What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved?

Box 10.1: Primary & secondary research questions

PRQ 1 Is community engagement a social learning arena for spatial planning?

Having studied lay participation in spatial planning, and considered the co-construction of knowledge of space and aspects of learning that is particular to community participation, it is possible to reflect on whether community engagement is a social learning arena. Social learning for spatial planning involves conceptual changes in knowledge that relates to space with the network of spatial planning. The research indicates that there is conceptual learning about space during community engagement. Communities and planners were found to have different knowledges of space and means of learning about space. For instance personal networks were extremely important in communities' construction of space, and by contrast networks of complementary functions figured strongly in planners' knowledge of space. Together the actors displayed an evolving

knowledge of space, with changing rationalities, information and means of constructing the knowledge. Importantly, lay knowledges are a significant factor in reworking planners' knowledge of space. Conceptual learning about space was also interwoven with conceptual learning around lay participation.

The research findings show that community engagement was a social learning arena for spatial planning. For each research topic there was a good match to the case study with some caveats, most importantly that this was a favourable case of community engagement conducted within 'best practice' spatial planning. Conceptual learning about space occurred, and some aspects of the major issues were reworked. Actors reworked and nuanced their ideas of scale, although the wider scales of spatial planning (i.e. here the sub-region) dominated. The number and depth of voices were increased, i.e. where people who engaged had no previous contact with the planning system. The rationalities of spatial governance with lay participation were also reworked, which was seen through the practices adopted. The prevailing culture of planning evidence did not change, but experiential evidence was introduced informally and was fairly influential. 'Human impact' was the common ground for shared planning subject matter, between planners and lay actors. The other subjects were considered less relevant by either planning actors or lay actors. Multiple policy domains were embraced by planners and lay actors, but the same subject areas were approached differently and so there were difficulties in negotiating the different rationalities, e.g. discussions around 'improving health in the area' could relate either to better sports facilities or health care funding.

The rationalities and the types of reframing found within the study are described in more detail in SRQ 3 and SRQ 4 respectively, and the relevant points for SRQ 1 are picked out here. In the study, the community provided the means to conceptual learning through lay knowledge. Lay rationalities and experiential evidence had several effects. They challenged existing approaches to investigating the causes of spatial phenomena. They brought a sharper focus on the finer grain, smaller scale, e.g. looking at the detail of urban design or the history of a very small settlement. They provided a new perspective on localities, and specifically cast them as dispersed places with multiple small scale linkages, e.g. the neighbourhood street together with the travel between home, work and leisure. They gave focus to local place quality and community diversity, e.g. the look and feel of the neighbourhood. These points demonstrate the type of reframing that is likely, given favourable conditions of community engagement in spatial planning.

Other reframing effects were not particularly strong. Some nuance was given to ideas of functional relationships, but they were fairly resistant to major change. The tendency to abstract space was

very hard to restrain, despite the introduction of more concrete knowledges. For instance, someone's story of losing their job was merged into a regional picture of people from one town seeking work in another. Likewise contextual rationality of a sub-region could not be completely reworked, i.e. planners were concerned with the area of the plan or as near to it as possible. Sub-regional notions of place, place quality and community persisted in a delicate balance with other notions introduced by lay actors. The evidence of resistance to reframing in these areas indicates it is unlikely to occur in more 'critical' cases, i.e. where there is a lower level of support for lay participation.

In addition some knowledges of space and ways of learning about space proved resistant to reframing. Rationalities of communities were built around local nodes but conceptual learning did not occur, and local nodes did not become the critical factors in the approach to space. Likewise the multi-scalarity of spatial planning remained intact and the notion of a 'spatial client' could not be removed, i.e. planners continue to look at as many small areas as possible but also to promote what they see as in the interests of a sub-regional community. It is likely that this lack of reframing would also be observed in less favourable cases of community engagement, since spatial planning rationalities would be more dominant there. PRQ 2 considers the knowledge dynamics and gives insight into the factors of reframing or lack of reframing.

PRQ 2 What is the dynamic between different types of knowledge around spatial planning where there is lay participation?

This section considers the dynamics between lay and spatial planning knowledges. The rationalities and evidence belonging to the different knowledges help to explain the synergies and tensions, which enabled or provided resistance to reframing. Briefly speaking, the research indicates that the requirements of spatial planning block some of the anticipated knowledge dynamics, and the experiential knowledge culture of lay actors does not always fit with the evidence culture of spatial planning. This was true in the study even though there was conceptual learning, where knowledge was co-constructed and certain types of rationalities were reframed as explained at PRQ 1.

As discussed in chapter 2, knowledge for spatial planning is seen as highly contextual and social, i.e. it is contingent on where and when it is situated and who is involved in creating it. The findings support this interpretation, and more importantly here they underscore the importance of how planning knowledge *is about* spatial and social phenomena. Subjects of spatial planning contain human behaviours and interactions and are therefore intrinsically complex and highly relational. The study demonstrated how lay knowledge was an important complement to other knowledges, bringing experiential evidence and rationalities of multi-valent communities. These added

complexity and depth to understandings of space within community engagement, but that 'expansive' knowledge dynamic encountered resistance. Multi-valent communities are explained more fully below in the sections on the secondary research questions (SRQ 3-6), but the critical point here is that the rationality of multi-valency fit well and was embraced. Multi-valency was in effect a tacit spatialisation of the community made explicit by engagement in spatial planning. On the other hand, experiential evidence was not accepted. Examples were left in the minds of the group, but other sources of information or evidence were required for greater certainty or explicit claims to knowledge.

As discussed in chapter 3, spatial planning intends to be integrative of scale, and requires an integrative knowledge dynamic. In the study, lay knowledge did not integrate the different scales, and rationalities of locality were based on personal evidence of dispersed activity around a central (typically residential) 'node'. This type of rationality had some traction in spatial planning. Rationalities of dispersed activities were embraced (e.g. multiple parts of different settlements grouped together) and counteracted the more simplistic place identities originally proposed (e.g. the outline of an urban area on an ordinance survey map). However central 'nodes' were problematic, in that they had to be become one of many nodes, i.e. planners considered all nodes as important within a wider pattern of nodes.

In theory a broad scope of knowledge areas, or topics, will be relevant to spatial planning. One of the main findings, explained in more detail at SRQ 3, is that communities were known to take a holistic approach to spatial subject matter. It was also of interest that planners found the idea of lay knowledge appealing, partly because they thought that it could broaden the scope of topics in planning. Indeed lay knowledge highlighted some important topics, especially about perceptions of safety. However planners experienced difficulties with the lay 'holistic' approach. The 'holistic' rationalities of the lay actors derived from personal measures of quality of life, such as health, happiness, security, and friendships, and what affected it. Quality of life was defined differently by planning actors who relied on wider notions of spatial justice, which helps explain why they found it hard to co-produce a broader knowledge with the community.

What became clear was the inevitability of the spatial planning focus on future spatial options or 'futures thinking'. This relates back to the dimensions of spatial planning identified in chapter 2[1]. In the study there were strong forces guiding the production of knowledge. At the heart of the futures

[1] Widening the scope perspectives on a place; preventing/supporting 'end-state' spatial visions; identifying and understanding cross-policy issues; identifying spatial patterns and understanding their functions; identifying and understanding interaction of scales; creating new spatial 'constituencies'; and encouraging differently configured collaborations.

thinking was a principle of collaborative governance, which consistently abstracted knowledge. Planners relied on scientific evidence, such as statistical datasets, but could not apply scientific rationalities (e.g. of falsification) to lay knowledges. They tended to abstract lay knowledge, e.g. from the individual to the population cohort they were said to represent. They also translated information from lay to planning language, thus codifying experiential evidence for spatial planning. In this way lay knowledge lost much of its power to communicate 'human impact', as it became part of an evidence base.

Local knowledge from communities or lay knowledge provided a means to reframing space, but was itself reframed. Without a certain amount of interpretation and re-working, it could not be applied to future visioning. Language did not pose a substantial barrier to social learning, and (e.g.) explaining new terminologies was a means to learning, both in face-to-face dialogues and in more distanced communication. Instead the significant communicative difficulties related to cultures of spatial thinking. These points are expounded below at the secondary research questions SRQ 3 to SRQ 6.

SRQ 3 What spatial rationalities might exist in the context of lay participation?

To explain the spatial rationalities that exist where communities are engaged, the research looked at the different approaches to understanding space taken by the actors involved. The case study showed that planners and community actors construct diverse knowledges, around a range of lay and spatial planning rationalities. To explain the diversity it is useful to separate out the dominant rationalities of planners and community actors, but it should be emphasised that in reality there is no such clear cut division, i.e. an actor might adopt any rationality, and in the thesis the knowledges of interest are those that are co-constructed with both planners and lay actors.

Planners had a multi-scalar rationality. That is to say that they moved easily between many different scales, from the extremely local to the national. In the study, planners continually referenced different granularities of evidence as they were constructing knowledge about their sub-region. No scale was taken as a 'given' to be worked towards, the legitimacy of spatial groupings was tested, and new area conceptualisations or spatial groupings were frequently suggested. This is an interesting finding in itself as it nuances the common characterisation of spatial planning as fundamentally regional.

Planners worked with a rationality of interdependencies, where they weighed up the mix and geographical spread of e.g. retail services in the wider 'functional area'. Using that type of logic many planning issues were seen as a product of existing functional relationships between places. Larger settlements were generally seen as servicing smaller ones with fewer functions, but equally

smaller ones could contribute by e.g. preserving open space. The essential premise was that developments worked within a sub-region.

Two further dominant spatial planning rationalities were noted. Firstly, planners had a collaborative rationality, and always sought to build collaborative knowledge. Their openness to collaborators outside the existing planning community, stemmed from the logic that drawing on other policy areas, such as policing, could give extra substance to spatial policy. Secondly, there was contextual rationality, which could constrain otherwise 'blue skies' thinking. Throughout the work a sense of feasibility for the sub-region (or whichever area was being considered) would dominate.

The case study identified 'local knowledge' of communities, which had a distinctive rationality of experiential causality, e.g. if a family member was having difficulties finding work that was the test of reality rather than mooted high average employment levels. This was a predominantly informal and personal rationality, and based on living in the area more often than working there. This conformed to the notion of spaces of daily life found in the literature, and was extremely rich and detailed. Communities' knowledge of local need was determined by local experience and personal ambitions.

Community actors in the case study had a strong and intuitive sense of place dependencies, based on functional and social considerations. The scalar outlook was narrower but more complex than that of the planners. For instance community actors, when thinking about retail, would discuss only one street in a town but consider all of its aspects. They talked about who went there and why, access routes, public transport services, parking prices, its fabric, what items sold well or were missing, when it opened, impressions of its success and reasons for it, as well as the history of it and changes observed over time.

Lay knowledge of localities was also densely constructed, and those that were most discussed were neighbourhoods. However localities could also be those of a market, as in the example given, or other catchment such as around a school or employment area. Dense links within localities were apparent through social bonds and activities. Lay rationalities were therefore not local but 'multi-valent', with many directions of activity that cohered around a purpose. The most common purpose was residence, and in those instances the 'multi-valent place' entailed all the vital journeys outwards from the home.

Lay actors were dependent on experiential evidence. Points made by the community were established through subjective experience, and validity of such evidence was established by giving a good amount of personal detail. This type of evidence had an inherently historical outlook, which

was often in tension with reflections about change. It was not always against change but it could slow the tempo of visioning, and avoid prospective thinking (see also SRQ 5 on knowledge dynamics). For example people empty premises were easily seen as a reason to avoid investing in that place.

Local knowledge tended to promote comparison with 'other' experiences, i.e. a person's life expectations were formed in relation to their community. As such it was indexical, always anchored to an individual community actor, but at the same posited within a social context. This was a very particular comparative rationality based on reference to other experiences. This is to say that people would evaluate their own lives, places and localities by contrasting them with those of others.

SRQ 4 What types of spatial rationalities are reframed and how are they changed?

In order to understand conceptual learning related to space, SRQ 4 asks, what types of rationalities change and how this happens. To provide an answer, the analysis focuses on social learning about space and place, the substantive issues of spatial planning, including the practices for this. Conceptual learning about spatial governance itself is dealt with by SRQ 6.

Briefly speaking, most types of rationalities are reframed to some extent, and specific approaches to evidence have a strong influence on how they are changed. Planners and communities come to the learning arena with their own rationalities, and both parties adjust their spatial rationalities to some extent. This socio-spatial learning comprises changes in the spatial perspectives of both lay and planning actors and new approaches to learning about space.

Reframing occurs within spatial planning work and is part of future spatial visioning practice. Before community engagement, three means of spatial visioning were identified: spatialisation; collaboration; and narrowing. These were the planners' means of reframing spatial rationalities, when they were working in the formal collaborative group. Planners had a cyclical approach to testing all new knowledge, repeatedly spatialising by identifying spatial elements and relationships, and expressing them through mapping and other visual representations. They were also learning by opening up their working group to collaborators from different scales of operation and different professional specialisms. There were three tendencies that could narrow the learning, the tendency: to rely on 'scientific' evidence; to default to existing administrative boundaries; and to align new evidence from formal actors through abstraction. The case study indicated that by embracing lay rationalities for spatial planning: narrowing tendencies could be countered; spatialisations made more concrete; and lay actors brought into the collaboration.

The reframing is crudely summarised in the list below by type of rationality; the symbol ☑ indicates that the type had strong traction and ☒ indicates that it was significantly challenged. It includes all rationalities, planner and non-planners alike. The following discussion considers: the means to reframing, i.e. evidence and practice habits; reframing of the lay rationalities that were introduced; and the effect on the spatial planning rationalities.

Rationalities of:

- Experiential causality
  - ❖ Personal ☑ *not on its own*
  - ❖ Holistic ☑ *with a lot of difficulty*
  - ❖ Concrete ☒ *interpretation & abstraction required*
- Local patterns
  - ❖ Nodes ☒ *no nodes, but can check against them*
  - ❖ Dispersed localities ☑ *as part of a bigger picture*
  - ❖ Place quality ☑ *together with wider spatial justice*
- Multi-valent community
  - ❖ Not a client ☒ *client essential*
  - ❖ Diverse ☑ *but must reconcile with 'client'*
- Collaborative planning
  - ❖ Multi-scalar area ☑ *key to visioning*
  - ❖ Functional relationships ☒ *nuanced by dispersed localities*
  - ❖ Co-ordination of policies ☑ *possibly supported by experiential knowledge*
- Professional practice
  - ❖ New spatial groupings ☑ *dominant& promoted by experiential knowledge*
  - ❖ Contexualism ☒ *disrupted by experiential knowledge*

Although the reframing described above was true for the case being studied, the testing found caveats on how far these points can be generalised, as follows. Experiential lay knowledge provided personal forms of evidence, fresh approaches to areas based on more holistic spatial notions around quality of life, and more concrete, detailed understandings of place. Planners embraced them in dialogue but would not rely on them, and therefore narrowing forces dominated. Even when planners accepted that personal evidence, historical accounts, and intuitive understandings were true, they demanded other proofs. It was also clear that when planners related concrete examples to their work, they had to abstract them in order to understand their spatial implications. Planners found it very hard to depict lay knowledge on maps, in a meaningful way for spatial planning as they did for other type of evidence. A lay approach to space filtered through and lessened the reliance on administrative boundaries. It should be noted that, since planners in the testing wave were not from the area in question, it may have made them more open to reworking boundaries.

Difficulties in relating lay knowledge to planning knowledge resulted from the differences in their rationalities of space. Communities had rationalities of dispersed localities (mainly) surrounding a residential node, whereas planners' spatialisations of place did not have a 'most important' point. Dispersed localities had traction in the planner-community interactions, but there was a tension around the rationality of a central node. In dialogue with lay actors, spatial patterns were broken down into a series of smaller-area patterns around one or two nodes. These 'central nodes' were predominantly reframed as 'one of many nodes' and the smaller scale patterns meshed into wider patterns. The rationality of local scale was not rejected outright but had to be reworked to fit into the multi-scalar rationality.

Similarly, there was a tension between different rationalities of place quality within the learning arena of spatial planning. Communities brought experiential evidence of: the complexity of daily activities; critical linkages to (e.g.) a place of residence; and the causal factors of quality of life. Lay knowledge provided substantive learning and was used to test the human or real world impacts of mooted policy directions, and add local specificity around policies. Planners tended towards a spatially wider view of place quality. In the study, lay rationalities of place quality sensitised actors to impacts at the smaller scale. This making values 'feel real' to planners, as lay knowledge provided powerful examples of the impacts of trade-offs made between places that tested the broader picture of place quality. This was a two-way testing process, as lay knowledge was also continually pitted against the wider rationalities of sub-regional 'spatial justice'.

In addition to issues around spatialisation and place quality, there was a tension around notions of community. Significant differences existed between the definitions of 'the community' that were given by lay and planning actors. The sub-regional or wide area community of spatial planning was not constructed in the same way within the lay rationalities. Instead dense social bonds dominated, and the community was presented as a plural and diverse set of collaborative stakeholders. The notion of multiple stakeholding actors took root as planners focused on how to deal with divisions within the community and conflicting needs or ambitions. Although this did not prevent learning, it was an ever present epistemological crisis in practice. As shown in the validation work, planners continued to identify a sub-regional 'client' even where the idea of multiple communities had been accepted. Critical decisions always rested on a base population, since the significance of an impact was judged on the group that was initially considered relevant. That is to say that for spatial planning the first notion of 'client' community, i.e. those who will live in the area during the period of the plan, cannot be reframed. This is true even where a second notion of 'multiple stakeholding' communities emerges or a spatial option includes areas outside the area of the authority.

Despite the difficulties associated with visioning, it is clear that lay rationalities had an impact on spatial planning rationalities. Firstly, the lay way of framing each locality as dispersed was conceptually strong and had a good fit with the spatial planning logic of functional relationships. Examining dispersed localities disrupted preconceived ideas and changed fundamental aspects of a spatial grouping (e.g. logics of shape, size or internal linkages). That rationality also offered a completely new approach to spatial options (e.g. starting from community ideas rather than external threats). Secondly, the lay rationality of a key local node nuances rationalities of 'functional relationship', but it could not resist the more dominant rationality of multiple scales. On the other hand the experiential evidence of a node provided insight into possible policy impacts and therefore was part of the cycles of testing spatial plans. Thirdly, local quality-of-life rationalities offered a means of testing but did not disrupt the 'wider spatial balance' rationality that should be achieved. Fourthly, the notion of communities was reframed, producing a second definition, but without negating the idea of a 'client'. Overall, lay and planning knowledges dynamics were fueled by the conflicts between local and wider context rationalities and between experiential and scientific evidence.

SRQ 5 What types of spatial elements contribute to social learning in participatory planning?

The distinction between spatial elements and spatial rationalities is that spatial elements are specific aspects of spatial policy whereas spatial rationalities are the conceptual approaches to space. Spatial planning is has a multiplicity of policy areas but spatial elements are essential to anchor them into the spatial policy-making arena. This section discusses the types of spatial elements found in spatial planning, both with and without the involvement of lay actors.

Previous chapters have listed the many policy domains containing spatial elements. In the study, each spatial element relevant to planning fell into one or two of the following categories or types (see diagram 10.1). The types are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A topic such as affordable housing provision for example could be said to straddle many categories.

Some spatial elements pertained most strongly to sub-regional patterns e.g. energy resourcing, woodland, transport. Others related primarily to human impacts, e.g. type of employment opportunities, the distribution of generational population cohorts. Others again concerned boundaries of administration, e.g. social services, heritage preservation. Finally there was a category of higher order functions, e.g. retail mix, higher educational, acute care. Each of those four types was identified in spatial planning prior to community engagement.

Lay actors also introduced particular types of spatial elements, and these can be compared to those of spatial planners. As discussed in previous chapters, lay spatial elements pertained to: a key spatial node of a local pattern; multiple, smaller scale linkages; and problems practical functioning of places. They did not concern boundaries in the same way. Human impacts were also prevalent in the lay spatial elements. This meant that human impacts appeared as a central spatial concern that gave common ground to lay actors and planners. It overlapped with the six other elements but was distinct from them and could not describe any of them fully (diagram 10.1).

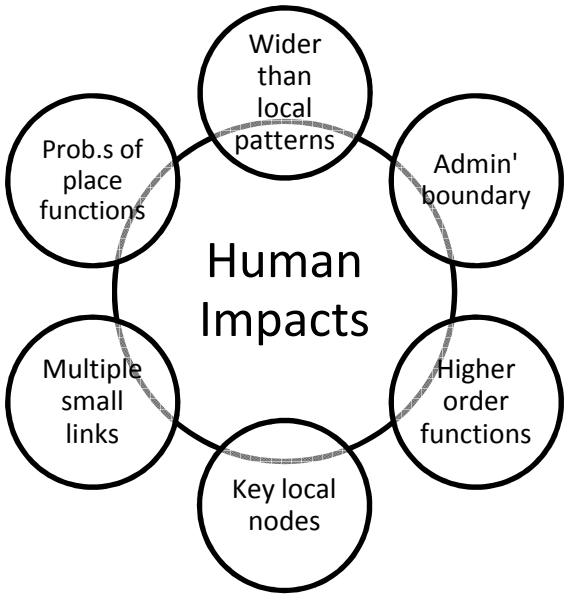


Diagram 10.1: Types of Spatial Elements

SRQ 6 What is the nature of the planning policy factors involved?

For a complete picture of conceptual learning, this study examines rationalities *in* and *of* spatial planning practice where lay actors participate. Rationalities within the spatial planning work have been discussed in SRQs 4 & 5, and rationalities of spatial planning are discussed here. In the study, rationalities of spatial planning concern policies of lay involvement in collaborative governance. 'Factors of planning policy' identified by the empirical research are: the role of planners in relation to lay participation; the participatory planning modes; perceived purposes of learning with communities. The study demonstrated the importance of reflexivity and adaptiveness in planning policies that relate to lay involvement in collaborative governance.

Community engagement was part of the prevailing planning culture during the study, and contemporary UK legislation and regulations gave it legal force. The planners embraced that culture, simply claiming it was 'right' for communities to be involved and, together with the formal collaborators, created a certain role for the community. The community was initially cast as the sub-

regional beneficiary of the core spatial strategy, i.e. the future community of North Northamptonshire. As the review progressed, community engagement became more specifically about learning, i.e. with a set of questions to put to the community. Learning from the community was a secondary concern, and their involvement was firstly premised on a 'beneficiary' status. In line with the dual 'client' and 'stakeholder' rationalities discussed above, the role of community actors became dual recipient-participant. This created difficulties for the community participants as their role appeared confused, e.g. where issues were perceived as irrelevant due to the 20 year time horizon.

Community engagement was only partially conceived as a learning exercise, but initially this learning function was relatively weak. They scheduled a period of intensive engagement work, and the timing was determined in relation to the review work. The logic was that enough work must have been completed in order for dialogue to include relevant themes and options, but not so much that anything would have been decided or fixed. Community input was initially expected to influence the review in an unspecified way. The review team had open channels for public input but correctly anticipated that extra efforts would be required for substantial participation to occur.

Over the period of the review, learning became more important in general. The planners wanted more input from a wide range of actors to the review. Policies and goals of collaborators and other bodies became more important, e.g. deliberations over new a transport strategy for Northamptonshire. As the planners looked outwards they also referenced general public opinion about a variety of social and spatial matters. They increasingly wanted to learn from non-planners, and deliberate with them about how the new plan might work. Collaborative work encountered points of uncertainty and gaps in understanding that the community might address (as discussed in chapter 6). In effect planners and collaborators wanted specific 'functional input' from lay actors, in contrast to the initial premises of involvement. This new role was also more akin to the role of the formal collaborators.

Evolving modes of participation mirrored the changing role of the community. The initial selection of modes of engagement was influenced by pragmatic and ethical considerations. Known methods, available communication resources and established protocols were more accessible and readily employed. Multiple modes were adopted as this was thought to be 'best practice' and could demonstrate the democratic credentials of the process, i.e. affording everyone the opportunity to take part. Specific expectations of learning with the community engagement emerged, e.g. specifying which villages had restrictive parish boundaries. These expectations tailored the modes being used, by altering: the design of the face-to-face engagement; the supporting materials that

were used for engagement; the sampling strategy for the overall engagement strategy; and the list of questions for the community.

Planners' understanding of learning with the community became more marked and the purposes of learning clearer, but the community did not share that new understanding. Despite clarifications and introductions, lay actors did not easily relate to the role of the spatial planners or the notion of learning with them. They also had a different approach to the remit of the spatial strategy. Existing policies of collaborators had the potential to cause conflict, and some lay actors perceived that learning with planners should concern broad social issues, e.g. the increased provision of health services, rather than spatial ones.

10.3 Reflections on research methods

Having completed the case study and validation workshops, this section looks back on the methods. It also considers the effect of the overall research process and the outcomes of the design. In general the methods were effective and produced rich detailed data in the intended area of work, but embedded research was very challenging to conduct. First, since the research was relatively innovative, especially the second wave, this section notes four practical points learned in hindsight.

Firstly, the field work could have been improved to get more depth in some parts of the findings. It would have been useful get more mapping work from community participants in the road show to get more depth on how they would visualise dispersed places. Place visions of the community were extremely complex, e.g. where the lay actor discussed the place with reference to several people within a household and included the impact of childcare on current activities of adults. Such complexity was extremely hard for planners to spatialise. With more data and some way to identify individuals' map annotations, it might have been possible to suggest a way forward. Similarly, administrative boundaries were an important factor but it would have been useful to have more depth. This might for example have allowed comparison of local and regional boundary rationalities and their relative strengths.

Secondly, in the validation workshops, it would have been useful to have added some questions to the feedback form about their views or experience of public engagement. This would have allowed the research to gauge the position of the participants towards community engagement in spatial planning, more accurately. I was able to gauge a generally positive attitude by talking to them, and a certain level of confidence was added by their responses to the questions, but there was no proper triangulation of that point. The counter point is that by asking targeted questions it may have affected participants' responses or willingness to participate.

Thirdly, the workshop could have been managed differently. I could have covered the contents of the existing core strategy in detail, and provided bigger maps with clearer place names. This would have been easier for participants and saved some time.

Fourthly, the best practice or positive case selected had unanticipated limitations. It had a large rural component, therefore there may be issues relevant to dense urban settlements which did not emerge. This is not a methodological concern, but it is a practical point worth noting for similar work in the future. If further work is done in this area, this is an extra argument to select a more urban case.

Overall I felt that the methodology was very effective. Being embedded enabled me to see behind the scenes, and thanks to the generosity of the planners with whom I worked, I was able to spend the time needed to flesh out the detail. In retrospect I did not appreciate how important this 'goodwill' element would be and perhaps if I had known it I might have been more daunted than I initially was. In addition, I was able to gather relevant data in each topic area. This was down to perseverance on my part, and the very structured regular review of all the data. The comments and insights that I gleaned in this process were not only helpful for further data collection but also helped focus the analysis. That is to say that it shed light on where there were possible mismatches between the conceptual picture of socio-spatial learning and reality, which then drew my attention during analysis (through memos in Atlas-TI).

Having completed the research I would like to make the following comment on the embedded experience. As with any engagement work, the job was emotionally taxing because it involved intense conversations with people about their problems and aspirations. As ever, I found it extremely painful to be unable to directly help people who had the grace to share with me their personal experiences and feelings. Despite making sure to feed in individuals' concerns into the core strategy review, I was well aware that I had unintentionally but unavoidably raised the expectations of some people for whom the JPU might not in the end be able to make a difference. Having the research requirements in the back of my mind during the work added another layer of obligation to the public and also to the planners. The whole endeavor relied on trust and reciprocity and reinforced my view that it was important to share findings. This fed into the design of the workshops, which were devised in such as way as contribute to the professional development, explaining and discussing the planning reforms of 2011, as well as providing a platform for the testing. In retrospect, the embedded mode was a very good choice for this piece of work, but these aspects were extremely challenging and added to the effort required to produce the thesis.

10.4 Implications for planning practice

The case study has shown that community engagement is a valuable means of learning for spatial planning. Direct dialogue and face-to-face discussions were productive and two-way learning about space occurred. The research did not intend to re-invent best practice, and overall findings lend support to much of existing 'best practice', but did uncover some points that might be useful to spatial planning. The key point is that planning practice could be more explicit and confident about the uses of lay knowledge for spatial planning practice. Lay knowledge is broadly synergistic with futures thinking, but some areas of learning are likely to be more useful than others. These points are explained in this section and summarised in box 10.2 below.

To engage communities for spatial strategy:

- use face-to-face dialogue and mapping exercises
- design outreach materials around strategic issues
- continually involve new people

Absorb communities' specific knowledge of:

- the current uses/value of assets and facilities
- causes of difficulties & roots of aspirations
- experiences of previous development in the area

Bring out the added value of local knowledge, by:

- discussing about activities outside the locality, as well as within it
- reflecting on *details* of daily life and memories in a community
- exploring personal histories, present experiences and future plans

Create a more robust evidence base from engagement, by:

- building spatial issues into a qualitative sample
- explicitly recording social and historical detail
- building confidence through anonymisation and triage

Box 10.2 Summary of implications for planning practice

Answers to the research questions (section 10.2) show that community engagement was a social-learning arena for spatial planning in the case study. It was not an entirely uncomplicated one, but the collaborative and pro-active practices used by the North Northamptonshire planners enabled social learning about space together with the community. The research was guided by three principles: firstly, communities have a right to influence planning that will affect them; secondly, spatial planning is the most accepted form of spatial governance; and thirdly, spatial planning is a

knowledge based profession. In effect a fourth principle emerged, which is that pursuing local knowledge through community engagement helps avoid tokenism. The implication for spatial planning practice is that it should more explicitly acknowledge the learning side of community engagement in the following ways.

Practitioners should recognise that socio-spatial learning is possible and can help to build knowledge for spatial visioning. Local residents can provide insights with experiential knowledge of the area, particularly with details of facilities and assets in their localities. They can easily identify the causes of spatial difficulties, history of developments in the area and the human impact of policies. To help realize this, communities should be seen as 'multi-valent'. They exist not in a single place but across multiple places, through activities, services, and amenities there that they rely on.

Planners are likely to find it hard to relate experiential knowledge directly to spatial policy. Communities' ideas of what constitutes evidence or a reasonable justification of a view of space may be extremely different, even in conflict, to those of spatial visioning. An awareness of the nature of lay evidence and rationalities will be the first step in overcoming communication difficulties. For instance planners can have an increased awareness of how strategic maps may be interpreted.

The abstracting and spatialising tendencies of spatial visioning may not be avoidable but evidence cultures can be reworked. An evidence base is required and lay evidence could be part of it, if its nature is properly understood. It does not lend itself to abstraction, and detail and personal voice are given as a form of validation. Experiential evidence may not necessarily the means of communicating a plan but it can form part of the sub-structure that supports it. Detail can be recorded and subjectivity more comfortably embraced if it is seen as a sign of validity or accuracy. As a caveat to this, ethical protocol will be needed (especially regarding anonymisation) if data is to be part of public record. On a related but more practical note, communities are likely to bring many issues to the table, and it may not be possible to deal with all of them directly through the spatial strategy. However concerns might be triaged to other policy makers and collaborators, so it may be useful to record all comments as well as all the details.

The points above suggest there could be great volumes of records, but this is not necessarily the case. Social learning is not about collecting data but about the production of knowledge of space. With a careful approach it might be possible to target topics where lay knowledge is most needed, and relatively small numbers of people with particular experiences could provide sufficient insight, e.g. by talking to those out of work, previously employed a particular sector, or a certain family

structure, as well as people from particular places. Face-to-face dialogue with specific people could supplement other data such as larger scale quantitative measures of public trends.

One of the key lessons is that much of the conflict in community engagement arises from the different approaches to scale. This might in fact be useful to spatial planning since it relies on continual reworking of scale. Lay knowledge can test and challenge planning knowledge as it pertains to dispersed local places (rather than a complete functional area as conceived by spatial planning practice). This also suggests that it is useful to have a flexible approach to scale in engagement exercises, e.g. through community-led mapping of places, activities and issues.

In designing community engagement, it is also worth taking a flexible definition of the community. Two populations are of interest to strategic planning: the population of current residence; and the population of interest to the plan. They may be confused in practice and may never be reconciled theoretically, however, it may help to be explicit about them in the design of engagement. For instance current residents will be engaged and discuss the future, but the explanatory power of lay knowledge is experiential, therefore strongest where it is based on current needs or historical experiences. In any case it is probably helpful to decide, in advance of engagement, which local knowledges (as well as local people) planners particularly wish to engage (without precluding new areas of discussion with the community).

Overall, the findings of this research reinforce the lessons from existing literature on public participation (see chapter 2). Flexibility and adaptability is required from all parties. Scale and notions of relevant subject matter will remain in flux, and this can be interpreted as positive a sign of learning. Ideas about what constitutes 'the community' will develop over time and during the engagement processes, and this complexity can be taken into account in the design of the engagement to promote learning.

10.5 Implications for planning theory

This study has sought to add to existing theories of participatory spatial planning, by examining the spatiality of knowledge and learning with community engagement. A new term 'socio-spatial learning' and a bespoke conceptual framework were proposed for the task. Those concepts were tested through the research, which led to the following theoretical reflections. Briefly speaking knowledge of 'space' in spatial planning can be reframed through the introduction of local knowledge. The knowledge dynamics found for spatial planning indicated that there were two distinct areas of conceptual learning: learning about lay space; and learning about spatial policy. Lay knowledge is likely to be reworked during community engagement in spatial planning, but that may not be explicit in policy, and this leaves some areas for further theoretical exploration.

Planning theory has moved along a spectrum of intensity of structure, towards more fluid understandings of space and more collaborative means of spatial governance. Increased community participation in spatial planning is highly characteristic of that movement, and there is an implicit synergy between lay and planning knowledges. Local knowledge and spatial planning knowledge are both said to be complex and relational, and this study has examined the dynamics where they are brought together. It showed that some characteristics of spatial planning[2] remained strong on the introduction of lay participation. The contribution of lay actors to spatial planning was strongest in helping understand spatial patterns. The community helps understand constituent parts of space, and although it increased the scope of perspectives it more often increased the depth of existing perspectives.

A social learning arena where lay and planning actors engage in meaningful dialogue, and a socio-spatial learning area, i.e. a social learning arena involving knowledge of space, were hypothesised in chapter 4. As explained above, under the right conditions communication, reframing and reworking of knowledges of space and spatial governance is possible, which confirms the existence of a socio-spatial learning area. Closer inspection of lay and planning knowledges showed there were two aspects of learning about space within this arena: learning with lay knowledge derived from lived experience; and constructing planning knowledge of possible spatial patterns or 'futures thinking'. In effect actors could co-construct knowledges which they all agreed on but which were in tension.

Direct communication and interactions between planners and communities indicates non-tokenist or successful engagement in planning, but the learning that occurs on the introduction of lay

[2] As discussed in chapter 3 these are: widening the scope perspectives on a place; preventing/supporting 'end-state' spatial visions; identifying and understanding cross-policy issues; identifying spatial patterns and understanding their functions; identifying and understanding interaction of scales; creating new spatial 'constituencies'; and encouraging differently configured collaborations.

knowledge is the substance of 'non-tokenism'. The focus here is learning about space. Lay knowledge of space had a distinctive character around dispersed places and multi-valent communities. Such a rationality could be absorbed into the strategic futures thinking. There is some indication that this process already occurs in practice, as tacit lay spatialistions are made explicit and used to build up a wider spatial picture. This adds a human layer to patterns of activity demonstrating their causes, and acts as a test of the 'real' value or disbenefit of a policy option. This is an area of interest to fluid space theories. In this research, there was a drive to create spatial order, or structures, as the actors were testing rationalities existing spatial patterns. Lay actors had strong visions of certain patterns and felt these should inform the structure of administrative boundaries. This suggests that fluidity might be understood as having a type of form, or 'pattern', which also shapes lay rationalities.

Spoken and written idiomatic language was the primary means to communicating and negotiating spatial rationalities. There was also some amount of work with diagrams and maps, which is of theoretical interest since social learning theory relies on shared imaginings and opportunities to negotiate (e.g. Wenger 2010). Maps are significant tools of option building for spatial planning, which is at least true for the present context of English spatial planning. If communities are excluded from that means of negotiation there is an implicit imbalance in the communication. This supports the view that styles of mapping in the two networks of learning (lay and planning ones) is critical for engagement theory.

Spatial planning typically produces new knowledge through abstraction, and this means of visioning reduces the absorption of some aspects of lay knowledge. At this point it is important to distinguish between rationalities and information, which are the components of knowledge as described by in this study. Some lay rationalities and information could be absorbed into knowledge for spatial planning as described above, but others were problematic. For example, the rationality of a place being the centre of a pattern (e.g. the block of flats as the starting point for measuring trip convenience) might be problematic, but the rationality of places being dispersed (e.g. a village as the site of the village plus some parts of the surrounding villages and towns where critical amenities are sited) was strong and generally adopted. Those points are explained more fully at PRQ 2 and SRQ 3, and the implication for planning theory is that participatory spatial planning privileges some types of rationalities and information over others.

As shown in the study, spatial planning is open to new evidence, but explicitly spatialises evidence for new planning knowledge. New evidence is continually approached through spatial relationships analysis, which frequently involves mapping. This abstracts, aligns and spatialises new knowledges,

testing them and assessing them for relevance to urban form and functional relationships. It also adds the new knowledge to the records of the common store of knowledge. Although values originally produced through lay social experience can be absorbed, they become codified through this process and so their original values are not explicit. For example, communities were discussed with lay rationalities of plurality and 'multi-valency', but justifications were eventually related to a whole area population. This observation may be useful to participatory theory, as it helps explain the capacity of institutional memory and how it deals with public engagement.

Some aspects of lay knowledge do not fit well with spatial planning. Lay knowledge is value-laden and indexical, but also introduces complex layers of space that are challenging to work with. Spatial planning recognises that space is live and contested in daily practices and can learn from lived knowledge, but it cannot simply merge local knowledge into planning knowledge. There is a theoretical tension where holistic or rounded knowledge that includes lived space values is created and then in effect 'flattened' post-hoc, becoming abstracted and spatialised.

The study suggests that lay knowledge has the potential to challenge planning rationalities and act as a critical external test to the impacts of constructed policy. It also suggests that it is important to recognise that lay knowledge and spatial planning knowledge are produced in distinct layers of social learning, social learning of *community space* (lived daily activities, accepted community / individual identities) and of *spatial planning space* (maps, spatial policy). They cannot be simply conflated for the production of knowledge for spatial planning. The reason for this is not simply that ideas conflict, but that: the rationality of strategy-making precludes certain lay rationalities; and the dominant means of communication within spatial planning (that of maps and a quantified evidence base) are a significant barrier to lay evidence becoming explicitly recognised as part of the output of the learning arena.

The implication is that spatial planning may 'isolate' the knowledge produced in the socio-spatial learning arena from lay actors, i.e. making it inaccessible to communities. Lay rationalities may be absorbed and some lay evidence may be used, but the ultimate expression of the co-produced spatial knowledge may be opaque. That is to say that although the place values are included in the thinking, they become codified into spatial planning 'languages' (not just terminologies but also planning modes of spatialisation) to the extent that it can no longer be read by the original lay communities involved. In more practical terms the risk is that lay values may have relatively less impact (i.e. as compared with the values of other collaborators), if they are not made explicit in the record of knowledge that remains. In recognition of that risk, the section on practice implications includes pointers for constructing an evidence base that is more robust in this respect.

There is an inherent dilemma in these findings, since spatial planning as currently understood (described in chapter 3) must embrace both lay knowledge and 'futures thinking'. Learning in spatial planning is conducted in loops, which produce spatialised and abstracted knowledges. This process strips out the more 'visible parts' of the added value of lay knowledge and, even where lay rationalities of place are adopted, the substantiating evidence of personal histories is discarded. The theoretical difficulty, from a social learning point of view, is that even where two-way, conceptual learning occurs within a loop of community engagement it may not carry through to the next loop of learning in spatial planning. This fits with the conceptual framework in that lay knowledge is continually in flux, but the lack of 'traction' of socio-spatial learning creates an imbalance. The new knowledge is necessarily competing with other knowledges over a period of strategising. More fundamentally there is an issue of determining the contribution of lay knowledge to 'soundness' of planning. The knowledge co-produced with 'the community' derives from understandings of *particular* space (rather a 'universally applicable norm' of space). Much of the power of *particular* space comes from experiential causation. For plan-making, understanding of individual experiences was extremely valuable, especially the 'outliers', i.e. where people experience an unexpected policy impact. However experiential causation is not currently a means to plan evaluation.

In conclusion, the main theoretical implication is a paradoxical one: although conceptual learning about space may occur within community engagement and create new spatialisations, but it may be undermined if it is not explicitly acknowledged for policy making as part of the more technical record. It is particularly true for participatory spatial planning which is fluid of scale and scope (as described in chapter 3 and throughout), although there may also be implications for other areas of planning and other types of policy-making (which were outside the scope of this research). Technical evidence and reference maps are critical for policy-making and, although it cannot be recorded in the same way, conceptual learning is also critical for the production of knowledge with relevance to communities and places. Fundamental questions therefore remain around the expression of new spatialisations from socio-spatial learning arenas, and how to reconcile the technical and relational knowledges of spatial planning. The final section considers how planning theory might be further built up and tested, through further research in response to these points.

10.6 Future research agenda

In conclusion, the research has provided insight to the initial research questions, and it has also opened up new avenues for enquiry. The subject of socio-spatial learning was previously unexplored so further study of the same area would help substantiate and give more depth to the findings in any case. There are also ways to expand parts of the socio-spatial learning framework and explore the related areas of theory suggested in section 10.5. These ideas form a future research agenda that could be pursued, as explained here.

Overall the findings unsettled the role of knowledge in planning and brought to light the spatiality of the knowledge in community engagement with spatial planning. Importantly, they showed how the difficulties experienced by planners in spatialising local knowledge could be explained by the complexity and density of lay approaches to space, with rationalities of multi-valency and evidence of dispersed places. At the same time they showed the potential value in developing means of spatialisation, especially because communities and planners had rationalities that were synergistic. Further case studies or even experimental work could provide insight into how communities spatialise knowledge and how planners work with local spatial knowledge. Such work could include observation of current practice, and there could be a further stage of research to compare technologies of visualisation that are employed in spatialising local knowledge. A further goal would be to test the relative level of success they might have in the co-production of new knowledge for spatial planning and in spatialising local knowledge.

Having looked at the response of planners to lay knowledge, what they recognised in it and how they used it, it is also important to examine the factors affecting their responses. Work might be done interviewing planners about their current approaches to engagement, as this was not possible within this embedded case. Further cases of spatial planning and community engagement with critical and 'normative' aspects, might also be studied to determine whether socio-spatial learning persists, e.g. around dispersed places. For instance a case without a positive culture of engagement or a poor instance of spatial planning, e.g. without much collaboration, might shed light on which efforts on the part of the planners were most important in reframing rationalities. The role of the different collaborators could also be explored in more depth, to see whether any other evidence culture affects the planning work. For instance if an economist, or a cartographer, or a linguist or a psychologist were brought into the formal collaborative group, would they influence the evidence culture?

This study has highlighted a critical area for further attention in planning theory. There are conflicting rationalities behind planning knowledge, as the participatory production of knowledge

and the production of policy remain in tension with each other. However the findings showed that, they might be reconciled at least during community engagement. Having researched the reframing potential of lay knowledge, a follow up enquiry might consider the policy impact. This would have the added benefit of linking the current findings back to concepts of empowerment. A study of the later stages of spatial strategy making could examine the dynamics when spatial policy is drawn up, and knowledges become codified. The goal of such future research would be to consider the role of different knowledges of space on final policy documents. It might also explore the structuring effects, i.e. how they order the complexity of space and how they work together to do this. This could help to build a new theoretical framework of planning knowledge of space, which embraces both technical and relational rationalities, and explore the possibility of an integrated model of planning that reconciles the communicative and scientific areas of planning knowledge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albrechts, L., 2004. Strategic (Spatial) Planning Reexamined. Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design 2004, 31, pp. 743 - 758

Allen, J., Massey, D. & Cochrane , A., 1998. Rethinking the Region , Routledge.

Allmendinger, P. & Haughton, G., 2007. The fluid scales and scope of UK spatial planning. Environment and planning A, 39(6), 1478-1496.

Allmendinger, P. & Tewdwr-Jones, M. eds., 2002. Planning Futures: New Directions for Planning Theory, Routledge.

Amin, A., 2002. Spatialities of globalisation. Environment and planning A, 34(3), 385-400.

Amin, A., 2004. Regions Unbound: Towards a New Politics of Place. Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography, 86(1), 33-44.

Arnstein, S., 1969. A ladder of citizen participation, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35(4), 216-24.

Baker, M., Coaffee, J., Sherriff, G., 2011. Commentary: Revisiting ... Getting involved in plan making: participation and stakeholder involvement in local and regional spatial strategies in England. Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 2011, 29, 952-957

Baker, M., Hincks, S., Sherriff, G., 2010. Getting Involved in Plan Making: participation and stakeholder involvement in local and regional spatial strategies in England. Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 2010, 28, 574-594

Bailey, J. 1975. Social theory for planning. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Beauregard, R., 2001. The Multiplicities of Planning. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 20, 487-489.

Beauregard, R., 2003. Democracy, storytelling, and the sustainable city. In Story and Sustainability: Planning, Practice, and Possibility for American Cities.

Biesbroek, G.R., Swart, R. & Knaap, W., 2009. The mitigation-adaptation dichotomy and the role of spatial planning. Habitat international, 33(3), 230-237.

BIS (Department for Business Industry and Skills), 2012. Explanation of LEPs. Available at http://www.bis.gov.uk/policies/economic-development/leps. [Last accessed 25th May 2012]

Bourdieu, P., 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practice, Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1991. Language and Symbolic Power , Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell.

Bourdieu, P., 1998. Acts of Resistance, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1998. Practical reason: on the theory of action, Polity Press.

Brenner, N., 2001. The limits to scale? Methodological reflections on scalar structuration'. Progress in Human Geography, 15(4), 525-548.

Bristol , K.G., 1991. The Pruitt-Igoe Myth. Journal of Architectural Education, 44(3. 163-171.

Buser, M., 2012. The production of space in metropolitan regions: A Lefebvrian analysis of governance and spatial change. Planning Theory, 11(3), 279-289.

Cabinet Office, 1999. White Paper on Modernising Government.

Campbell, D.T., 1966. Pattern matching as an essential in distal knowing. In K.R. Hammond (Ed.), The psychology of Egon Brunsvik. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 81-106.

Campbell, H., 2012. Planning to Change the World : Between Knowledge and Action Lies Synthesis. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 32(2) 135–146.

Castells, M., 1972. La Question Urbain, Paris: F. Maspero.

Castells, M., 1978. City, Class and Power, London: Macmillan.

Castells, M., 2000. End of Millennium: v.3: The Information Age - Economy, Society and Culture: Vol 3, Oxford: Blackwell.

Coleman, J.S., 1966. In Defense of Games. American Behavioural Scientist, 10.

Communities and Local Government, 2008. Transforming Places Changing Lives: A framework for regeneration.

Corburn, J., 2007. Reconnecting with our roots: American urban planning and public health in the twenty-first century. Urban affairs review, 42(5), 688-713.

Davidoff, P., 1965. Advocacy and pluralism in planning. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 31(4), 596–615.

Davies, H.W.E., 1997. Brian McLoughlin and the systems approach to planning. European Planning Studies, 5(6), 719-729.

Davies, P., 2004. Is Evidence-Based Government Possible? Paper from the Jerry Lee lecture, Campbell Collaboration Colloquium, 2004.

Davoudi, S. & Strange, I. eds., 2008. Conceptions of space and place in strategic planning, Routledge: London.

Davoudi, S., 2006. Evidence-based Planning: Rhetoric or Reality? disP, 165(42 (2)), 14-24.

DCLG, 2005. Land Use Statistics (Generalised Land Use Database).

DCLG, 2012. National Planning Policy Framework. Available at http://www.communities.gov.uk/planningandbuilding/planningsystem/planningpolicy/planningpolicyframework/ [Last accessed at 25th May 2012]

Douglas, M., & Wildavsky, A. B., 1982. Risk and Culture: An essay on the selection of technical and environmental dangers. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Douglas, M., 1987. How Institutions Think, London: Routledge.

Dryzek, J., 1990. Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy, and Political Science, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Eden, S., Donaldson, A. & Walker, G., 2006. Green groups and grey areas: scientific boundary-work, nongovernmental organisations, and environmental knowledge. Environment and planning A, 38(6), 1061-1076.

Elwood, S., 2002. Neighborhood revitalization through 'collaboration': Assessing the implications of neoliberal urban policy at the grassroots. GeoJournal, 58(4), 293-295.

EMRA, 2005. East Midlands Regional Freight Strategy.

Entec, 2004. North Northamptonshire market towns and rural regeneration final report.

Esping-Andersen, G., 1990. The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, Princeton University Park.

Fainstein, S.S., 2010. The just city, Cornell University Press.

Faludi, A. & Waterhout, B. eds., 2002. The making of the European spatial development perspective : no masterplan, Routledge.

Fenster, T. & Yacobi, H., 2005. Whose city is it? On urban planning and local knowledge in globalizing Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Planning theory and practice, 6(2), 191-211.

Fischler, R., 2000. Communicative planning theory: A Foucauldian assessment. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 19(4), 358-368.

Flyvbjerg, B., 1998. Rationality and power: democracy in practice, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.

Flyvbjerg, B., 2001. Making social science matter: why social inquiry fails and how it can count again, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B., 2011. Chapter 17: Case Study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln, eds. The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 301-316.

Foglesong, R., 1986. Planning the Capitalist City: The Colonial Era to the 1920s, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fordham Research, 2007. North Northamptonshire Housing Market Assessment.

Forester, J., 1999. The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes, Cambridge, MIT.

Forestry Commission, RNRP & NNJPU, 2010. North Northamptonshire Carbon Sink Forestry Project, Feedback.

Foucault, M., 1970. The Order of Things, Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M., 1972. The Archaeology of Knowledge, Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M., 1979. The history of sexuality, London: Allen Lane.

Friedmann, J., 1973. Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning, Garden City: Anchor.

Friedmann, J., 1987. Planning in the Public Domain: from Knowledge to Action, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Friedmann, J., 1993. Toward a Non-Euclidian Mode of Planning. Journal of the American Planning Association, 59(4), 482.

Gallent, N. & Robinson, S., 2010a. Community-Led Plans and the Capacity of Communities to Link to Formal Planning Structures (1). Paper to be presented to:24th AESOP Annual Conference, 2010, Helsinki, 8 July 2010.

Gallent, N. & Robinson, S., 2010b. Connecting Communities and Policy Makers in England: Perspectives on Building / Brokering Linkages to Community-Led Plans. Paper to be presented to: ACSP 2010, Minneapolis, October 2010.

Garfinkel, H., 1984. Studies in Ethnomethodology, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A., 1986. The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration, Polity Press.

Giddens, A., 1990. Consequences of Modernity, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A., 1994. Risk, Trust, Reflexivity, in Beck, U. et al. ed.s, 1994. Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A., 2001. The Global Third Way Debate, Cambridge: Polity Press.

GLA (Greater London Authority), 2011. The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London, July 2011. London: GLA.

Goldman, M., 2003. Partitioned nature, privileged knowledge: community-based conservation in Tanzania. Development and change, 34(5), 833-862.

Government Actuaries Department, 2012. Government Actuaries Department website. Available at: http://www.gad.gov.uk/Careers/index.html.

Gunder, M. & Hillier, J., 2009. Planning in Ten Words or Less, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Gunder, M., & Hillier, J, 2007. Problematising responsibility in planning theory and practice: On seeing the middle of the string? Progress in Planning, 68 (20), August, 57–96

Habermas, J., 1973. Legitimation Crisis, London: Heineman.

Habermas, J., 1984. The Theory of Communicative Action: Vol 1: Reason and the Rationalisation of Society, London: Polity Press.

Hakim, C., 1987. Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research, New York: Routledge.

Halbwach, M., 1992. On Collective Memory, The University of Chicago Press.

Halcrow, 2007. North Northamptonshire Water Cycle Strategy Wastewater Capacity Study: Interim Findings.

Hansard, 2012. Commons Debate 27th March 2012. Available at http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmtoday/cmdebate/c_03.htm [Last accessed 25th May 2012]

Harvey, D., 1973. Social Justice & the City, Edward Arnold, London.

Haughton, G. & Allmendinger, P., 2007. Social Infrastructure in Spatial Planning. Town & Country Planning, 76 (Nov), 388-391.

Haughton, G. et al., 2010. The new spatial planning: Territorial management with soft spaces and fuzzy boundaries, London: Routledge.

Hayek, F.A., 1944. The Road to Serfdom, University of Chicago Press.

Healey, P. (2007). Urban complexity and spatial strategies : towards a relational planning for our times : The RTPI library series.

Healey, P. et al. eds., 1997. Making Strategic Spatial Plans: Innovation in Europe, Routledge.

Healey, P., 1996. The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory and its Implications for Spatial Strategy Formulation. Environment and planning B: Planning & Design, 23, 217-234.

Healey, P., 1997. Collaborative planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies 2nd ed., Pallgrave MacMillan.

Healey, P., 2007. Urban complexity and spatial strategies : towards a relational planning for our times : The RTPI library series, London: Routledge.

Healey, P., 2010. Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices, Routledge.

Heskin, A., 1991. The struggle for community, Westview Press.

Hillier, J., 1995. The Unwritten Law of Planning Theory: Common Sense. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 14, 192-296.

Hillier, J., 2000a. Can't see the trees for the wood. Planning theory and practice, 1(1), 71-93.

Hillier, J., 2000b. Going round the back? Complex networks and informal action in local planning processes. Environment and planning A, 32(1), 33-54.

Hopkins, L.D., 2001. Planning as Science: Engaging Disagreement. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 20(4), 399-406.

Innes, J.E. & Booher, D.E., 2004. Reframing Public Participation: Strategies for the 21st Century. Planning Theory and Practice, 5(4), 419-436.

Innes, J.E., 1996. Planning through Consensus Building. Journal of the American Planning Association, 62(4), 60-172.

Innes, J.E., 1998. Information in Communicative Planning. Journal of the American Planning Association, 64(1), 52-63.

Jacobs, J., 1961. Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York: Random House.

Jones, M., 2009. Phase space: geography, relational thinking, and beyond. Progress in Human Geography, 33(4), 487-506.

Kemmis, S., 2001. Exploring the relevance of critical theory for action research, in Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (eds), 2001. Handbook of Action Research, London: Sage.

Kingston R.S., 2002. The role of e-government and public participation in the planning process. 14th Aesop Congress, Volos, Greece.

Kingston R.S., et. al., 2000. Web-based public participation geographical information systems: an aid to local environmental decision-making. Computers, Environment and Urban Systems, 24, 109–125.

Kohlschretzenmayr, M., Keiner, M. & Nussbaumer, G., 2004. The Real and Virtual Worlds of Spatial Planning, Springer.

Krosnick, J., 1991. Response strategies for coping with the cognitive demands of attitude measures in surveys. Applied Cognitive Psychology, 5(3), 213-236.

Krumholz, N., 1990. Making Equity Planning Work, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Lacan, J., 2006. Écrits: the first complete edition in English (1901-1981), W.W. Norton & Co.

Lane, M.B. & McDonald, G., 2005. Community-based environmental planning: operational dilemmas, planning principles and possible remedies. Journal of environmental planning and management, 48(5), 709-731.

Larson, K.L. & Lach, D., 2008. Participants and non-participants of place-based groups: an assessment of attitudes and implications for public participation in water resource management. Journal of environmental management, 88(4), 817-830.

Latour, B., 1993. We have never been modern, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Latour, B., 2007. Can we get our materialism back, please? Isis, 98(1), 138-142.

Laurian, L., 2009. Trust in planning: theoretical and practical considerations for participatory and deliberative planning. Planning theory and practice, 10(3), 369-391.

Le Galès, P., 2002. European Cities: Social Conflicts and Governance (European Societies),

Leavitt, J., 1994. Planning in an age of rebellion: Guidelines to activist research and applied planning. Planning Theory, 10-11, 111-129.

Lefebvre, H., 1991. The Production of Space, Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Lévi-Strauss, C., 1967. The scope of anthropology, London: Cape Editions.

Lévi-Strauss, C., 1978. Myth and Meaning, London: Routledge.

Lindblom, C.E., 1979. Still Muddling, Not Yet Through, Public Administration Review, 39 (6), 517-526.

Little, R., 2011. Pocket Parks of Northamptonshire: a toolkit. Northamptonshire County Council. Available from http://www.northamptonshire.gov.uk/en/councilservices/Leisure/pocket-parks/app/Pages/Establishing.aspx [Last accessed July 2011]

Local Government Act 2000, 2000. London, TSO (The Stationery Office). Retrieved from http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000/22/contents

Localism Act 2011, 2011. London, TSO (The Stationery Office). Retrieved from http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/contents/enacted

Locke, J., 1690. Essay Concerning Human Understanding. London.

Longley, A., 2010. covering e-mail to workshop participants.

Lovan, W.R., 2004. Participatory Governance: Planning Conflict Mediation and Public Decision Making in Civil Society, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Marshall, T., 2010. Not Yet Set in Stone. The Journal of the TCPA , 79(1), 16-19.

McGuirk, P. & O'Neill, P., 2002. Planning a prosperous Sydney: the challenges of planning urban development in the new urban context. Australian geographer, 33(3), 301-316.

Miller, M., 2003. The representation of place: Urban planning and protest in France and Great Britain, 1950-1980, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

MRC McLean Hazel, 2006. Northamptonshire Transport Strategy for Growth – Transport Prioritisation Framework.

Mulgan, G., 2005. Government, knowledge and the business of policy making: the potential and limits of evidence-based policy. Evidence and policy, 1(2), 215-226.

NCC, 2006a. Accessibility Strategy 2006-2012.

NCC, 2006b. Northamptonshire Demographic Model v2.0: 2004-based Population Projections.

Nilsson, M. & Eckerberg, K., 2009. Environmental Policy Integration in Practice: Shaping Institutions for Learning, Earthscan.

NNJPU & ACRE, Northants., 2010. Rural Areas & Small Towns Workshop Report.

NNJPU & Researcher, 2010. Draft Briefing Notes for the Place Shaping Workshop (with tracked changes).

NNJPU, 2006. North Northamptonshire Local Development Framework Statement of Community Involvement.

NNJPU, 2008. North Northamptonshire Core Spatial Strategy.

NNJPU, 2009a. A Place Shaping Approach to Joint Core Strategy Review in North Northamptonshire: Summary Proposal for discussion.

NNJPU, 2009b. Joint Core Strategy: Place Shaping Workshop Outcomes and Approach To Options Development.

NNJPU, 2009c. North Northamptonshire Core Spatial Strategy Review Participation Action Plan.

NNJPU, 2009d. North Northamptonshire Core Strategy Review Regulation 25 Consultation.

NNJPU, 2009e. Place Shaping Group – Terms of Reference.

NNJPU, 2010. Briefing Paper March 2010.

Nyseth, T., 2008. Network Governance in Contested Urban Landscapes. Planning theory and practice, 9(4), 497–514.

ODPM, 2003. Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future. Available at: http://www.leics.gov.uk/rss8.pdf.

ODPM, 2004a. Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development. Available at: http://www.leics.gov.uk/rss8.pdf.

ODPM, 2004b. The English Indices of Deprivation.

ODPM, 2005a. Milton Keynes & the South Midlands Sub-regional Strategy: alterations to the Regional Spatial Strategies covering the East of England, East Midlands and the South East of England.

ODPM, 2005b. Regional Spatial Strategies for the East Midlands. Available at: http://www.leics.gov.uk/rss8.pdf.

ODPM, 2006. Planning Policy Statement 3: Housing. Available at: http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/planningandbuilding/pdf/1918430.pdf.

ONS, 2003. Local Area Labour Force Survey.

ONS, 2005. Mid-2005 Population Estimates for 2009 Wards in England and Wales by Quinary Age and Sex and Selected Ages (Revised).

ONS, 2012a. Neighbourhood statistics (2001 Census data). Available at: http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/.

ONS, 2012b. NOMIS, Office for National Statistics (ONS). Official Labour Market Statistics. Available at: http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/.

Ostrom, E., 1990. Governingthe Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ostrom, E., 1998. A behavioral approach to rational choice theory of collective action . American Political Science Review, 92(1).

PAS, 2010. North Northamptonshire Joint Planning Unit. Good Practice Examples. Available at: http://www.pas.gov.uk/pas/core/page.do?pageId=110208.

Pelling, M., 2007. Urbanization and Disaster Risk, Panel contribution to the Population-Environment Research Network, Cyberseminar on Population and Natural Hazards (November 2007).

Piven, F., 1970. Whom does the advocacy planner serve? Social Policy, 1(1), 32-37.

Popper, K., 1963. Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge, London: Routlege.

Pugalis , L., 2009. The Energence of Choice Places. The Journal of the TCPA, 78, 545-548.

Putnam, R.D., 1995. Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community, New York: Simon & Schuster.

Rantanen, H. & Kahila, M., 2009. The SoftGIS approach to local knowledge. Journal of environmental management, 90(6), 1981-1990.

Reber, R. & Norenzayan, A., 2010. The Shared Fluency Theory of Social Cohesiveness. Social Science Research Network, Working Paper Series. Available at: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1702407 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1702407

Researcher, 2009a. Field Notes, Steering Group Meeting July 2009.

Researcher, 2009b. Field Notes, Workshop 1 23-25th September 2009.

Researcher, 2010a. Notes & photos workshop 2 day1.

Researcher, 2010b. Researcher's working notes Workshop 2 Day 2.

Researcher, 2010c. Researcher's working notes Workshop 2, evening day 1.

Review Project Team, 2009a. Briefing note for presenters on institutional perspectives.

Review Project Team, 2009b. Drafting exchanges on "the place-based workshop."

Review Project Team, 2009c. Outcomes Report Place Shaping Workshop.

Review Project Team, 2010a. Kettering Visionning Session.

Review Project Team, 2010b. Outcomes Report Options Development Workshop.

Review Project Team, 2010c. Record of Options Development Workshop 2.

Rhodes, R., 1997. Understanding governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability., Buckingham: Open University Press.

RNRP, 2012. River Nene Regional Park (RNRP): Northamptonshire's Environmental Character & Green Infrastructure Suite. RNRP EC&GI Suite. Available at: www.rnrpenvironmentalcharacter.org.uk.

Rockingham Forest Trust, 2007. History of the Forest; forest and woodland. Heritage Resource Centre. Available at: http://resource.rockingham-forest-trust.org.uk/SiteResources/Data/Templates/1simpletextpagedownloads.asp?DocID=692&v1ID=&docidfile.

Roger Tym and Partners, 2005. North Northamptonshire Town Centres Roles and Relationships Study: Update of Retail Capacity Forecasts Final Report.

Roy, A., 2009. Civic Governmentality: The Politics of Inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai. Antipode, 41(1), 159-179.

RTPI, 2001. A New Vision for Planning: Delivering Sustainable Communities an Agenda for Action, Ed.s Goodstadt, V., Upton, R. & Murray, K. Available at: http://www.rtpi.org.uk/download/1877/new-vision-full.pdf.

RTPI, 2010. Northamptonshire's Environmental Character & Green Infrastructure Suite River Nene Regional Park Partnership: E-GOVERNMENT AWARD WINNER 2007. Available at: http://www.rtpi.org.uk/item/3835&ap=1.

Rydin, Y. & Holman, N., 2004. Re-evaluating the contribution of social capital in achieving sustainable development. Local environment, 9(2), 117-133.

Rydin, Y., 2007. Re-examining the role of knowledge within planning theory. Planning Theory, 6(1), 52-68.

Ryser, J. & Franchini, T., 2008. IMPP, International Manual of Planning Practice: Fifth New Extended Edition, The Hague: ISOCARP.

Sackett, D., 2000. Evidence-based medicine : how to practice and teach EBM, London: Churchill Livingstone.

Sager, T., 1994. Communicative Planning Theory, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Sager, T., 2009. Responsibilities of Theorists: The case of communicative planning theory. Progress in Planning, 72, 1-51.

Sandercock, L., 1998. Towards Cosmopolis, Chirchester: Wiley.

Schön, D., 1973. Beyond the Stable State. Public and private learning in a changing society,

Schön, D., 1983. The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action,London: Temple Smith.

Searle, E.T., 2008. The Planning Inspectorate: Joint Planning Unit for North Northamptonshire Core Spatial Strategy.

Senecah, S., 2004. The Trinity of Voice: The Role of Practical Theory in Planning and Evaluating the Effectiveness of Environmental Participatory Processes. In Communication and Public Participation in Environmental Decision Making.

Shenk, D., 1997. Data Smog: surviving the information glut, New York: HarperCollins.

Simon, H.A., 1976. *Administrative Behavior* (3rd ed.), New York: The Free Press.

Simon, H.A., 1978. Rationality as Process and as Product of Thought. The American Economic Review, 68(2), 1-16.

Sørensen, E. & Torfing, J., 2007. Theories of Democratic Network Governance, New York: Pallgrave MacMillan.

St. Martin, K. & Hall-Arber, M., 2008. The missing layer: geo-technologies, communities, and implications for marine spatial planning. Marine policy, 32(5), 779-786.

Susskind, L., McKearnan, S. & Thomas-Larmer J., 1999. The consensus building handbook: a comprehensive guide to reaching agreement, London: Sage.

Tang, B., Wong, S. & Lau, M., 2008. Social impact assessment and public participation in China: a case study of land requisition in Guangzhou. Environmental impact assessment review, 28(1), 57-72.

TCPA & LGA, 2010. Connecting Local Economies: the Transport Implications.

Tewdwr-Jones, M., 2006. Territory, identity and spatial planning: spatial governance in a fragmented nation, Routledge.

Tewdwr-Jones, M., 2012. Spatial planning and governance: understanding UK planning, Palgrave MacMillan.

Throgmorton, J., 1996. Persuasive Storytelling,

UN-HABITAT, 2009. Planning sustainable cities, Earthscan.

UN-HABITAT, 2011. State of the Cities report, Earthscan.

VASAB, 2010. Visions and Strategies around the Baltic Sea (website). Available at: http://www.vasab.org/ [Accessed March 21, 2010].

Volterra Consulting Ltd, 2006. Commuting Patterns Report.

Watkins, C., 2005. Representations of space, spatial practices and spaces of representation: an application of Lefebvre's spatial triad. Culture and organization, 11(3), 209-220.

Weinstein, L., 2009. Democracy in the globalizing Indian city: engagements of political society and the state in globalizing Mumbai. Politics and society, 37(3), 397-427.

Welsh Assembly Government, 2008. People, Places, Futures: The Wales Spatial Plan 2008 Update.

Wenger, E., 1991. Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E., 1998. Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E., 2000. Communities of practice and social learning systems. Organization, 7(2), 225-246.

Wiedemann, P.M. & Femers, S., 1993. Public participation in waste management decision making: Analysis and management of conflicts. Journal of Hazardous Materials, 33(3), 355-368.

Wong, C., 2009. Housing and Neighbourhoods Monitor. Available at: http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/housing-neighbourhood-monitor-full.pdf.

Yin, R., 2009. Case study research: Design and methods (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing.

Young, I., 1990. Justice and the Politics of Difference, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Young, I., 1995. Communication and the other: Beyond deliberative democracy. In Democracy & Difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Young, I., 2000. Inclusion and Democracy, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zhu, J., 2010. Developmental Planning for Sustainable Urbanization in Asia. In Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices. RTPI Library Series, London: Routledge.

Appendix A – Case Sampling

Many cases were considered through existing and potential future contracts held by colleagues within a small consortium of urban design and facilitation professionals. These were assessed for goodness of fit to the sampling criteria (listed below and explained in chapter 4). Most cases were ruled out automatically due to poor fit with one or more of them. A few potential cases stood out as they had a very good match to both the conceptual elements (1-5) and the practical considerations (A-B). Those that had the best match were short-listed. Since it was only possible to complete one case to the necessary depth within the given time (as explained in chapter 4) a single case was selected. From within the short-list the North Northamptonshire case has the best fit to all of the conceptual criteria and didn't raised any major concerns in relation to practicalities. This is summarised in the sampling grid below. Full details of the selected case are given in chapter 4, section 4.5, and a summary for short-listed cases are given below.

SAMPLING CRITERIA

A. Location & Timing: Near to researcher's location, or able to travel to the site

B. Access to embedded data: Ability to embed within the planning team

1 Major Issues: Possibility of observing reframing

2 Actors & Scale: Variety of actors and scales

3 Community engagement: Must include involvement of local non-planners, ideally face-to-face

4 Planning evidence: Likely to represent planning work as well as community engagement

5 Shared planning subjects: Good depth of topic, i.e. not focused on site-specific permissions

6 Policy domains: Likely to have breadth of subject areas, i.e. not 'single issue'

SAMPLING GRID

Case/**criteria**	**A**	**B**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
North N'hants								
Tower Hamlets								
Chelmsford								
Singapore								
Ealing								

KEY

Concerns
Good match
Excellent match

Tower Hamlets new core strategy preparations

A.	Location & Timing: Researcher residing in Bow, one of the 'Hamlets' of the borough
B.	Access to embedded data: Good with possibility of embedding on residential side.
1	Major Issues: Major infrastructure developments being considered at the time, but concerns about the Olympic developments skewing the community agenda at that time.
2	Actors & Scale: National, LSP regional partners (e.g. Surrey especially for transport), London, borough, ward, and local community actors all involved in related development work.
3	Community engagement: Positive outreach strategy promoted by council and witness by researcher locally.
4	Planning evidence: Likely to represent significant planning work.
5	Shared planning subjects: Good depth of topic, plan to guide all development for the area.
6	Policy domains: Likely to have breadth of domains, especially social exclusion, housing quality and sustainability issues.

Chelmsford Core Strategy 2008 'Refreshing'

A.	Location & Timing: Commutable from Bow, although not ideal as front loaded within doctoral timetable
B.	Access to embedded data: Likely to be very good, previously worked on an issues and options consultation for the North Chelmsford Area Action Plan and PhD colleague working with community on visioning.
1	Major Issues: Managing growth and environmental protection due to being in the London commuter belt and the development of a large scale new employment area in Springfield.
2	Actors & Scale: East of England regional partners, Essex and London partners, borough, ward, community actors.
3	Community engagement: Good evidence of engagement from previous work and community strategy.
4	Planning evidence: Likely to represent significant planning work, but much it around precision of sites.
5	Shared planning subjects: Good depth of topic, plan to guide all development for borough.
6	Policy domains: Likely to have breadth of issues, especially around place quality and environmental impacts of development.

Singapore Concept Plan 2011 review

A.	Location & Timing: Researcher secured position at Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2009-2010 but in the end the engagement part of the work was delayed to 2011.
B.	Access to embedded data: Initially very good through UCL alumni, but later on attempts at networking with the planning authority proved fruitless.
1	Major Issues: Significant and potentially controversial urban re-structuring to manage population growth and natural resource management
2	Actors & Scale: Mainly national actors, but also constituency representatives, and a range of government bodies
3	Community engagement: Stated aim of increased public involvement in the review, evidence of the growth of civic organisations and political activism around national elections, but legacy of concerns.
4	Planning evidence: Likely to represent significant planning work
5	Shared planning subjects: Good depth of topic, concept plan to guide all development for the island.
6	Policy domains: Likely to have breadth of socio-economic issues, including transport infrastructure, housing provision, parks development, heritage conservation and marina bay construction.

Ealing Borough LDF vision development

A.	Location & Timing: Consultation work within a London borough. In progress as of 2009. Researcher had existing relationships with local residents' association and community groups' alliance.
B.	Access to embedded data: Very good, if initially mostly on the community side.
1	Major Issues: Possible major overhaul of town centre, with new employment (high rise offices) and transport developments (cross-rail) being mooted
2	Actors & Scale: London partners, transport authorities, borough, ward, community actors
3	Community engagement: Strong civic capacity and upwards engagement, but concerns over potential tokenism.
4	Planning evidence: Likely to represent significant planning work
5	Shared planning subjects: Good depth of topic, but very specific sites already dominating agenda.
6	Policy domains: Likely to have breadth of issues.

APPENDIX B: WORKSHOP MEMOS

Memo 1: Flyer advertising 1st event (replicated for 2nd & 3rd events)

Community Engagement in the Age of Localism Workshop

How to connect a neighbourhood perspective with spatial strategy? Changes to the planning system are creating a 'new architecture' of public participation in planning. Neighbourhood Development Plans (NDPs) are specifically intended to devolve planning decisions. Planning tasks and deliberation of planning issues will therefore be devolved to the neighbourhood scale and local referenda held on proposed NDPs. Community engagement is still crucial, since the new system is premised on harnessing local knowledge and fulfilling community aspirations.

Whether a plan is made for a neighbourhood or a less local scale, it must take wider considerations on board. Legally, NDPs must have regard to strategic policies and in practice they need to connect to the wider scales of planning and policy making including LDFs, the eventual NPPF and EU level directives. Planners from every scale are learning about this new approach to local involvement and what it means for them. The fundamental challenge is how to connect the local perspective with strategic planning.

This UCL workshop for planners explores techniques for bringing local knowledge into strategic plans. It is designed around lessons from recent research in England into community engagement in the joint strategy of four local authority areas. The event aims to provide a practical understanding of 'local perspectives', connecting local knowledge to spatial strategy, and the implications for planning process and practice.

This is a free event and refreshments and lunch will be served, please contact Lucy Natarajan on **lucy.natarajan.09@ucl.ac.uk** to confirm your attendance or for more information. A limited number of places are available however the workshop will be repeated in Manchester and Birmingham later this year, please contact Lucy Natarajan for more details.

Memo 2: note to participants

Workshop Title: 'Community Engagement in the Age of Localism: How to connect a neighbourhood perspective with spatial strategy?'

- What are the implications of the recent planning reforms?
- How can local knowledge be brought into planning strategy?
- What is the best way to manage the process?

Planners are invited to:

…details of venue… Limited places, RSVP

Appendix C: Workshop Records

Part 1: Exercises

The following material (listed 1 & 2) was given to participants who completed them in small groups and discussed their work with all participants in a plenary session afterwards. The discussions were recorded and transcribed. The exercises were self-recorded using the handout and map below. All records where then charted and fed through a matrix of the findings.

1. **Handout for workshop exercises (one of 39 variants), complete by participants containing:**
    a. Community Quotation & Source indication
    b. Questions for the workshop participants

COMMUNITY PRIORITIES FOR PLANNING 2011

Neighbourhood: Wellingborough

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood?

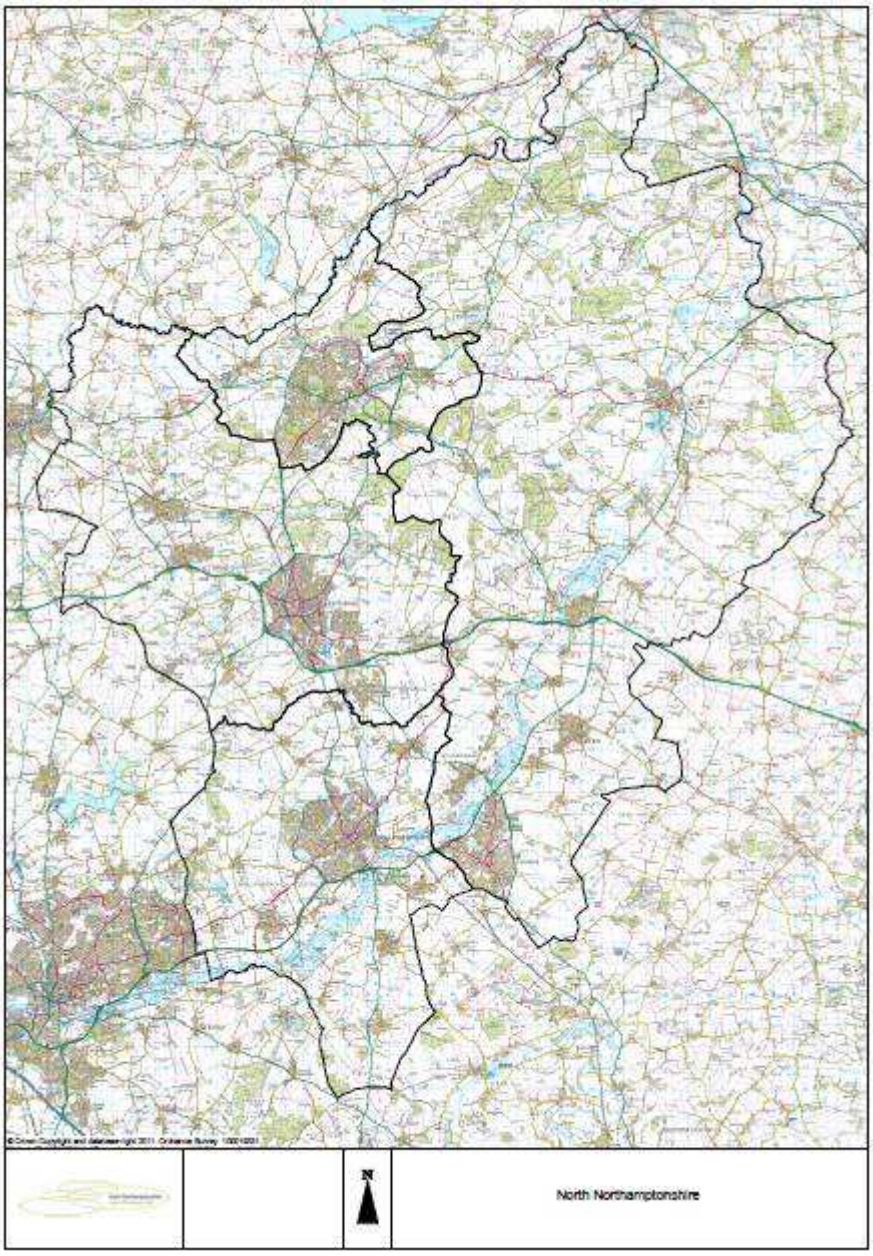
A: Our neighbourhood already has shops pub/restaurant/post office better served than many around town and certainly these are priorities- a food source in snowy weather.

- **What is the main issue?**
- **What is your policy response to the issue?**
- **Which neighbourhoods might be affected? (including any people affected by the issue or by the policy response)**
- **Do you need to bring in any other collaborators to deal with the issue? (e.g. investors, policy makers at the national or local level)**

2. Map of North the Northamptonshire area used in workshop exercises, courtesy of NNJPU:

a. With Borough County Boundaries

b. Produced at A3 size



Part 2: Community Quotations

The following tables present a selection of the charted workshop feedback data, transcribed from self-recorded data at the workshop. Information that can identify the original settlement or community has been removed. Discussions and recorded group work are added to the analysis and transcripts are available separately.

L6 ['Town']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Schools. Hospital. they pulled a school down and built houses. We have to travel to Kettering or Northampton to got to a hospital.

Main issue: Schools, hospitals

Policy response: Communicate bad news, hospitals too expensive to build, improve local provision & transport

Affected areas: Wellingborough, Kettering, Northampton

Collaborators: Transport

L7 ['Town']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: A general "Clean Up Wellingborough" campaign, encouraging, with some sort of incentives, everybody to take part; but it needs to be EVERYBODY.

Main issue: Community Cohesion

Policy response: Competitions with rewards

Affected areas: -

Collaborators: -

L-6- ['Small settlement']

Q: Do rural communities need to attract more people to live and work to ensure a prosperous future? A: Yes. In particular young employed people.
Main issue: Housing, employment, transport, integrated strategy

Policy response: Inward investment, links, promotion. Cost-Benefit Analysis of 'Small settlement', Other responses: enable home working? fibre optics?
Affected areas: 'Small settlement' & neighbouring villages

Collaborators: ? Leicestershire & Melton Mobray

L-9- ['Town']

Q: Do rural communities need to attract more people to live and work to ensure a prosperous future? A: We need to attract new business. Not warehousing but manufacturing/skilled service industry.
Main issue: Lack of employment opportunities particularly for younger generations. Oversupply of warehousing.
Policy response: Is this the prevalent view? What are the current employment statistics? Is there a lack of public transport to these types of jobs that Wellingborough is seen to be lacking? Diversify employment opportunities - Enterprise Zone / special designation from central government to provide incentives for new businesses
Affected areas: Dependant on wider transport network. People = unemployed, young people, depends on skill set.
Collaborators: Yes, local business forum, DTI, national perspective, Local education facilities - university, transport consultant

L-11- ['Small settlement']

Q: Do rural communities need to attract more people to live and work to ensure a prosperous future? A: The villages need new people to sustain ket services and facilities as the existing population ages
Main issue: housing, sustainable communities, younger people, affordable housing, key workers

Policy response: New Homes, business, LDO local development Order

Affected areas: Lots, including, Northamptonshire, Corby & Wellingborough as well as smaller settlements

Collaborators: LA areas, Housing providers, UTC+A, jobs, business start-up,

Lii ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Transport for young and old people so they can get to services e.g. Doctors, Dentist, Cinema, etc.
Main issue: very small

Policy response: what is affordable?

Affected areas:

Collaborators:

Liii ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: A children's nursery- without it parents have to travel for childcare, impacting on green issues, adding hours to their working days and discouraging young families to live here.
Main issue: Lack of provision of nursery

Policy response: Encourage establishment of local nursery, & shared transport to existing nursery

Affected areas: Adjacent communities

Collaborators: LEA, Transport provider, put out to tender

Liv ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: More use should be made of 'Small settlement' Hall. More direct and faster public transport links to major towns. Dial a ride or similar for the growing elderly population.
Main issue: Lack of bus service & elderly isolated, 'Small settlement' Hall current ownership & use (planning constraints) lack of local facilities,
Policy response: Review of transport premises, exploring community asset of the Hall

Affected areas: Northampton/Wellingborough

Collaborators: County, transport, owners of 'Small settlement' Hall, community / leisure services??

Lv ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: phone lines and broadbrand would improve ability to work from home/ small businesses to operate efficiently
Main issue: Social spatial justice issue, creating equality in telecoms provision: euqal access for all

Policy response: Communications plan

Affected areas: rural, isolated

Collaborators: telecoms providers, National regulator?

Lvi ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: a new sports club or pavilion to encourage greater participation in sport and community events.
Main issue: Lack of recreational/community facilities. Lack of community spirit

Policy response: Scoping existing facilities, ensuring bus routes are available to neighbouring facilities. Demand for 'type' of sporting facility - can the area support such provision. Are there available properties/space - can it be attached to a school
Affected areas: Potential for impact on neighbouring sports facilities (overdemand -ve or greater investment +ve) e.g. Kettering / Wellingborough. Surrounding smaller villages - benefit from neighbouring facilities in Walgrave
Collaborators: Sport England Schools & Local sports facilities in the area/surrounding villages that already exist. Local businesses / rotary club. Future managers of the club.

Lvii ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Footpath country walks and indoor fitness facilities that can be walked to encourage and enable people to keep fit and healthy at all times of year, especially winter when it is hard to do so. It would save health care costs. Perhaps it could be located in the health centre complex.
Main issue: Linking green infrastructure & built facilities

Policy response: Green gyms, green infrastructure & recreation plan (healthy travel plans) Open up school gyms for wider use
Affected areas: Burton Latimer & Kettering Connections

Collaborators: Schools, GPS, Transport planners

Lviii ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Short and long term parking to help shoppers. Safer routes to school for school children. Sports Hall/Community centre for all ages.
Main issue: Local Neighbourhood plan

Policy response: Consult residents & business, carpark management, separate shoppers and business, lighting walks to school & real-time information at bus stops
Affected areas: Landowners buy-in,

Collaborators: Pilot lighting for other areas

Lix ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Banking facilities, as residents are constantly required to make special trips to Rushden and Wellingborough to access these services.
Main issue: Two issues: access to physical money (ATM) banking services involves travelling - knowledge in community on telephone/online banking
Policy response: Encourage local stores/ petrol station/ post office to have ATM. Community education services
Affected areas: Immediate parishes

Collaborators: Yes - local businesses, banks, educational service.

LI ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Better support of disadvantaged and vulnerable to make the community more of a reality as a caring society.
Main issue: Cuts in facilities and the broader cohesion of society

Policy response: Facilities, Crime, Design - interaction promotion of volunteering? Research ito priority needs
Affected areas: All?

Collaborators: Everyone

LII ['Town']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Provide bus shelters on the 'private' side of the X Estate.
Main issue: Division between local communities. Lack of bus shelters.

Policy response: Re-engage both sides of the community - work together. Evidence of public transport use & demand in that area/surrounding estates - what is the existing provision? Is it accessible to all parts of the community?
Affected areas: Localised issue - in the main it would affect the X Estate

Collaborators: Planning Aid - to hold workshops with local communities. Local bus / transport user group.

LIV ['Town']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: A post box at the top of the estate
Main issue: Access to service, NIMBY, exclusion

Policy response: Seek alternative/approach post office, and communities strategy & technology, ask post-person to collect mail
Affected areas: estate and surroundings

Collaborators: post office/estate? Shop, sub-post office

LV ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Get ALL the unemployed back to work, and therefore feeling happier.
Main issue: Employment opps & types of jobs. Childcare, Transport & access, education

Policy response: Reviewing public transport, bus provision & relationship to transport plan. Consider employment creation at wider borough-wide level. Opportunity for small scale business growth & proactively encouraging home working (e.g. local business forums). Develop over local industry e.g. food production.
Affected areas: Direct relationship to job market in Corby & elsewhere. Better Broadband connections for villages
Collaborators: Local businesses. Transport planners. Education providers, colleges etc. Relationship to county council. Which towns do community feel affiliation with. Are comments representative? Comms: be honest about prospects/what achievable. Many genuine issues for rural areas. Opps for community its self to organise childcare, broadband etc.

LVI ['Small settlement']

Youth Forum: What are the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: "Nothing to do"
Main issue: Lack of discos or clubs

Policy response: transport but too expensive, late and safe

Affected areas: whole area will want some level of transport

Collaborators: priorities insoluble at this level, so refer to local community

LVII ['Town']

Youth Forum: What would you change about your area? A: "Police moan at you when you have done nothing"
Main issue: Young people feeling unwelcome in public space

Policy response: Dialogue with young people about what they need to feel safe and stay out of trouble

Affected areas: any or all

Collaborators: police . Youth workers if available

LIX ['Small settlement']

Roadshow: What would you change in your area? A: "a train from Rushden to Wellingborough & Northampton would be good. Lots of people from here go to Birmingham Airport"
Main issue: Transport & east to west connectivity

Policy response: Scope existing provision with regard to public transport. How prevalent this view is? Feasibility of scheme in terms of money. What the proposed policy situation/county council position is
Affected areas: Kettering & Wellingborough districts but generally everyone. All communities living on a proposed route.

Collaborators:

B5 ['Town']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Make railway station a transport hub for Rushden/Irthlingborough/East Northants
Main issue: Transport & Development links

Policy response: Investment

Affected areas:

Collaborators: National Rail, Bus

B8 ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: The threat of major developments in Raunds area will destroy the huge variety of wild life we all enjoy visiting our gardens. Increased traffic will mean thousands of extra car journeys on Raunds roads, as they will doubtless add to our already high 60% out commuting.
Main issue: Environmental, sustainability, protection

Policy response: local designation

Affected areas:

Collaborators: Environment agency, wildlife trust, , groundwork

B-2- ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Public transport to Corby and other towns giving better access to jobs and services.
Main issue: Accessibility to transport. Poor facilities in Gretton. Environmental impact. Employment opportunities in Corby/surrounding villages
Policy response: Transport / funding of new routes? Community Facilities, new department

Affected areas: Residents

Collaborators:

B-3- ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: More housing for young people. Affordable housing is in very short supply.
Main issue: Affordable Housing Development , types of housing and tenure

Policy response: Section 106 contributions, land use, models s/o, mortgage access models

Affected areas: Kettering

Collaborators: RSLs, Health Enhancement, Leisure, Transport

B-9- ['Town']

Q: Do rural communities need to attract more people to live and work to ensure a prosperous future? A: We need to attract new business. Not warehousing but manufacturing/skilled service industry.
Main issue: quality/quantity of employment required

Policy response:

Affected areas:

Collaborators:

B-12- ['Town']

Q: Do rural communities need to attract more people to live and work to ensure a prosperous future? A: Danger of stagnant villages becoming places for the rich retired only
Main issue: Wider impact of resources - community facilities - bus routes, shops, etc. Social implications isolation of people, mental health issues, community bus schemes, less attractive to young people, less affordable housing, if local services go then people will have to travel further, place further, use of car
Policy response: Considerations of provision of services / community facilities

Affected areas: Residents, business

Collaborators: Parish Councils, Residents association, local businesses, local authority

Bvi ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: a new sports club or pavilion to encourage greater participation in sport and community events.
Main issue: lack of sports facilities

Policy response: identify site, funding for village, sport club

Affected areas: positive effect for Walgrave, may affect surrounding villages if they require sports facilities

Collaborators: sport England, Lottery Funds

Bix ['Small settlement']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Banking facilities, as residents are constantly required to make special trips to Rushden and Wellingborough to access these services.
Main issue: provision of banking facilities, transport lack of training in online/phone banking

Policy response: Proving local facilities including banking and / or improving public transport, initiating training in alternative banking - internet or phone
Affected areas: Reduced business in Rushden/Wellingborough, Raunds positively affected if facilities improved, the reverse if improves transport

Collaborators: public transport providers, banks, raunds community in terms of providing a base/support

BII ['Town']

Q: What new services and facilities should be the priorities for your neighbourhood? A: Provide bus shelters on the 'private' side of the X Estate.
Main issue: Safety - wider issues crime etc. - vulnerability

Policy response: Accessibility - mobility - different routes. Association - community. Identity / territory.

Affected areas: Residents & X Corby Neighbouring areas is bus routes are altered

Collaborators: Transport providers, highways police designers.

BVIII ['Town']

Youth Forum: What would you change about your area? A: "I dislike that people say Corby is a bad place"

Main issue: Labelling undermining causes, Newtown, Image, post-industrial decline

Policy response: New Industry, up-skilling,

Affected areas: Bordering neighbourhoods

Collaborators: Police industries, Business Industries, Marketing Transport, Media

Appendix D: Options, at the end of review stage 2